CONSTRUCTING THE EXPERIENCE OF CRIME: VICTIMS, STATE AND SOCIETY

ROSEMARY ISOBEL WILSON

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DECLARATION

No part of this material in this thesis has been submitted for any degree or other qualification at any other institution by me or, to the best of my knowledge and belief, by any other person. This thesis describes my original work.

Rosemary I. Wilson

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by
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ABSTRACT

Previous research concerning criminal victimisation is characterised by adherence to the positivist paradigm. The thesis shows how the positivist paradigm contributes to a limited understanding of the experience of crime. This study represents a shift from the positivistic nature of previous research through an emphasis upon the construction of crime. This shift may be viewed as contributing to an increased understanding of the experience of crime. The first half of the thesis seeks to show how the experience of crime has been constructed in academic debate and by agencies with an interest in victims of crime. The thesis will demonstrate how these constructions are unsophisticated and incomplete principally because of neglect concerning the experience of crime as constructed by the victims of crime themselves. In response to this, the second half of the thesis proposes an alternative methodology for the study of the victim's experience of victimhood. This involves an application of an interactive computer programme designed for the elicitation of repertory grids. This technique is employed in relation to understanding the personal experiences of rape and housebreaking. The rationale for the examination of these experiences is grounded in agency classification of these experiences as discrete and quantitatively different in terms of seriousness. The experience of rape is classified as violent crime and inherently more serious than the experience of housebreaking which is classified as a property crime. The study considers how experiences of rape and housebreaking may be viewed as qualitatively, as opposed to quantitatively, more similar, through concern with the 'reconstruction of self'. However, the thesis also acknowledges qualitative differences in relation to construction of these experiences by individuals. It is important to emphasise that this is not a study of the psychological consequences of these experiences. The thesis concludes by proposing an approach based upon the constructivist paradigm which may be viewed as contributing to a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the experience of victimhood.

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Dedicated to the memory of my mother

Mary L. Wilson 1936-1994.

The serendipity pattern...involves the unanticipated, anomalous and strategic datum which exerts pressure upon the investigator for a new direction of inquiry which extends theory.

(Merton 1968: 159)

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INTRODUCTION

> For every crime there's a victim. For that victim, that crime isn't a dry statistic but something personal[1].
>
> John Major, Prime Minister
> 29th January 1996.

This quote provides an example of the way in which the problem of crime has become a topic of interest among politicians. Indeed, the problem of crime has become a site of significant struggle between politicians. The identification of an external threat may be seen to contribute towards the establishment of boundaries and the taking of sides. However, the drawing of boundaries may also be understood as ruling out the meanings of victimisation as negotiated by others. In particular, it neglects the victim's struggle for meaning concerning the experience of crime. The statement above gives emphasis to struggle among politicians. For example, John Major's statement was made during a lecture delivered at the Conservative Party Political Centre. The statement followed statements made by the Labour party concerning their adoption of a "tough" approach on crime. These claims resulted in allegations of hypocrisy by the Conservative party as a consequence of the Labour party's decision to vote against the right to appeal to the Attorney General on unduly lenient sentences. On the same evening that the Prime Minister made his statement, a representative of the Opposition attacked the 'tough rhetoric' with the latest crime figures. These figures revealed a rise in crime for burglary of 160% and violent crime by 40%. Labour appealed for the conditions in which crime breeds to be considered. The following day the Prime Minister responded by accusing the Labour party of using "tough" words but when it came to actions it was "soft". This evoked a response from Tony Blair, the Leader of the Opposition. He reminded the Prime Minister that Conservative party members should remember that crime had doubled under the Conservative party leadership. This provoked the Prime Minister to state that crime was falling for the first time in forty years and that this was shown clearly by crime statistics. This debate demonstrates the everyday struggle among politicians concerning the problem of crime. Further, the debate demonstrates how these struggles rely upon the production of objective evidence in the form of statistical measures of crime. The debate illustrates how these measures are far from objective and may be better understood as representing a standpoint. The debate shows how the employment of statistics may contribute to stalemate between the parties and how

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[1] See White, M (1996) 'Major takes the gloves off', The Guardian newspaper, January 30th.

this situation is averted through the skilful direction of attention towards the potent symbol of the victim of crime. Reference to the 'personal' provides a fine example of how 'the personal is political[2].' This statement of interest in the victim of crime may be viewed as one of self interest. This declaration neglects the world views of victims of crime.

A concern of this thesis will be with the interpretative resources and categories available in the construction of everyday realities. Spector and Kitsuse's (1977) social constructionist approach to the study of social problems is of particular value. They recognise how various groups make claims about some 'putative condition'. The study of social problems from this perspective requires descriptions of the emergence, nature and maintenance of 'claims making' and responses that constitute and condition categories. An important aspect of this process is media publicity which promotes images of experience and can be used to categorise experience. The introductory statement by John Major highlights the claims making activities of politicians. While claims may be grounded through the production of objective evidence, the thesis will concern itself rather with processes of construction and the provision of alternative definitions through an emphasis upon the way in 'facts' are selected, interpreted, organised and presented by various interested parties. For example, while definitions of seriousness may be based upon objective criteria, the phenomenon of crime is better understood as inevitably subjective. Concern is therefore with establishing the various definitions and their functions. In this way the boundaries of the system are drawn and 'insiders' and 'outsiders' determined. Also to be noted, is the way in which some definitions are more useful and durable than others while others may be less useful and therefore more short-lived and subject to reconstruction. This alternative approach shows how claims are inevitably subjective with some parties viewing some situations as more threatening than others. Thus concern with objective measurement is replaced by concern with the subjective meanings, values and beliefs of the parties concerned. The thesis will not only seek to show the ways in which various parties construct the experience of crime but how this operates to neglect the definitions of the victim of crime. The thesis will proceed to address this area of neglect. Finally, the position of the observer, in this case, the academic observer, requires to be treated as problematic and subject to analysis.

The victim of crime has become a meeting place for a considerable number of people beyond politicians. Indeed, the academic study of victims has been referred to as a

[2] See Kappeller (1995: 24-37) for an account of why the personal is political.

'rendezvous subject' (Rock 1986: 72). However, the considerable interest and support in relation to victims of crime has received little critical attention. In this regard, it may be suggested that the victim serves a variety of useful and important purposes not only in terms of providing a powerful symbolic image of suffering but as a key witness in the criminal justice process. However, this may involve the victim being categorised as an 'other ' or 'outsider' who is frequently subject to blame. Equally, it may be argued that the victim of crime serves a functional role in relation to the academic. It may be worth reflecting upon the number of academics who have constructed careers of international repute on the basis of their professional interests in victims of crime. Following on from this, it may be argued that the experience of the victim has been colonised by the powerful definitions not only of politicians but those of academics. The victim's experience has been transformed through powerful processes of categorisation and reduced to an objectified 'other'. The need for the development of a critical victimology has already been recognised (Fattah 1992) and to some extent addressed (Mawby and Walklate 1994). This thesis seeks to contribute to existing critical perspectives principally through recognition of the powerful definitions and categories applied to victims by politicians and agencies in the criminal justice process. A particular concern of this thesis will be with examination of the powerful processes of categorisation employed by academics at both conceptual and methodological levels. This will be followed by employment of a technique which is more responsive to the meanings constructed by victims of crime as a consequence of their personal experience of crime.

The current climate of widespread interest and support for victims may be contrasted with earlier times when it was commonplace for references to be made to victims as '...the forgotten people in the system' (McDonald 1976: 17). However, the danger is that in a climate of interest and support for victims of crime evidenced by various developments including Victim Support it seems that the victim of crime may become forgotten once again through overriding concern with the knowledge of experts and their interpretations at the expense of increased understanding gained through concern with the meanings constructed by one of the parties with direct experience of the criminal event. It seems reasonable to conclude that:

> Despite 'strong evidence that concern with the victim has become a powerful motif in contemporary western societal responses to crime' (Bottoms 1983), little thought has been given to the experiences, thoughts or feelings of actual victims (Shapland et al 1985: 2).

This thesis may be viewed as encouraging the experiences of victims of crime to be remembered through concern with processes of construction and reconstruction relating to the personally constructed experiences of crime. The study may be seen as challenging previous victimisation research both conceptually and methodologically since previous research relies almost exclusively upon the positivist paradigm and this study encourages a shift towards the constructivist paradigm. Previous research may be seen to treat the criminal event as unproblematic. Similarly, concern with objective measurement is viewed as unproblematic. The categorisation of victims on the basis of their characteristics and behaviour is viewed uncritically. Likewise, the suggestion that some victims precipitate the event may contribute to victim blaming discourses. Beyond this, concern is with providing more accurate measures of crime than provided by official criminal victimisation surveys using the criminal victimisation survey. On the whole measurement as objective is regarded as unproblematic despite the inevitably subjective nature of victimisation. For example, the concept of seriousness of the event has been viewed as unproblematic. Such an approach ignores the political context of victimisation. It is only in recent years that critical perspectives have developed and drawn attention to the political context of victimisation. The need for a critical victimology has been recognised since much of the study of victims has been policy oriented. Examples of this are provided by the plethora of studies which have lead to improvements in the treatment of victims in the criminal justice system (Shapland 1985; Raine and Smith 1991). There is not only a need to take account of the emergence and support for victim services but also of the underlying motives surrounding interest and support for victims of crime. The irony is that expert interest in victims of crime and the processes of victimisation may operate to obscure and render unimportant the event as understood by the victim of crime.

In response to the limitations of the positivist paradigm for understanding the experience of crime, the thesis demonstrates how the event has been 'constructed' by agencies in the criminal justice system. This is demonstrated by reference to a literature concerning the criminal justice system. While earlier analyses of the criminal justice process may have equated it with a process characterised by objectivity through the discovery of 'facts' and the presence of formal legal rules (McBarnet 1981), other analyses recognise the process as one characterised by the presence of informal rules (Carlen 1976) and informal negotiations (Baldwin and McConville 1977). A recent analysis recognises the process as one involving the

construction of 'facts' (McConville, Sanders and Leng 1991). In view of this, the thesis seeks to show how the experience of crime has been 'constructed' by agencies.

Before demonstrating how the victim is 'constructed' by agencies in the criminal justice system it is important to put the victim of crime in a historical context. By doing so, one may appreciate how at one time the victim played a central role in relation to decision-making in pre-modern systems of justice and how this declined with the emergence of the state and the development of the modern criminal justice system. In the modern criminal justice system construction of the 'event' is by the state and the role of the victim is one approaching exclusion. Particular attention is directed to 'construction' of the event by the police, prosecution by the state and in relation to the trial process. This provides further evidence about how the event as defined by the victim of crime is of little importance in the criminal justice process. For example, police concern is with establishing 'what happened' and whether a crime occurred. Thus 'what happened' according to the victim undergoes transformation through questioning, observation and processes of categorisation to become the police definition of 'what happened' in the form of the textual account of the police report. Lack of evidence and more recently, resource constraints may be seen to contribute towards the invalidation of personal experiences of victimisation. Further, agencies categorise events as 'good' or 'bad' on the basis of 'facts' or evidence adduced and on the basis of categorisations of the characteristics and behaviour of the victim. Processes of 'construction' are present at all stages of the criminal process but especially so at court in relation to the criminal trial where professionals definitions of reality subsume reality as defined by the victim of crime.

A major concern of the criminal justice system is with the construction of 'seriousness' of the event. For example, the criminal event tends to be classified as 'violent crime' or 'property crime' with the former evaluated as more serious than the latter. Indeed, the concept of 'seriousness' as determined by agencies in relation to sentencing and compensation may be seen to conflict with the perceived sense of seriousness as constructed by the victim. Recent initiatives, in particular, those advocating restorative justice may be seen as encouraging an approach more responsive to the constructions of the victim of crime. Here, examples include mediation and reparation and those initiatives concerned with 'victims interests' such as victim impact statements. However, whether these proposals are responsive to the interests of victims is debatable since these initiatives involve little consultation or meaningful involvement on the part of victims.

This thesis examines state, agency and media responses to the problem of victimisation. This chapter seeks to show how policy making far from an objective process is better understood as a dialectical and reflexive process involving various committees and influences (Rock 1995). Official responses may be understood as a function of political parties beliefs surrounding crime. It shows how solutions were devised by officials rather than on the basis of the definition of victims. Following on from this it shows how financial initiatives did not meet the needs of victims and how informal responses emerged in the form of Victim Support. It shows how concern with defined problems such as 'the penal crisis' and concern with mediation and reparation contributed to a lack of financial support for Victim Support. However, in time victims came to be defined as an issue since they provided a way of dealing with 'the penal crisis' (Rock 1990). This is highlighted through information brought to committees and how various influences upon these committees contributed to the recognition of victims as a problem leading to state funding of victim support. The decision to fund Victim Support may be understood as a way of avoiding theft of the victim issue by the Left. To some extent the victim issue has been colonised by the right. The publication of the Victim's Charter may be viewed as suggesting a system of rights. The thesis critically considers official constructions of 'needs' and 'rights' and how these might be at variance with the claims and concerns of victims.

Consideration of agency responses to victimisation would not be complete without an examination of the role played by the media. Here, processes of construction are highlighted through processes of selection and presentation. Beyond concern with media definitions of 'news worthiness' the media may be seen to rely upon official sources. More recently other sources have competed for attention in the media although concern with the victim as a source has received little academic attention. The media is a powerful force in the construction of stories regardless of the sensitivities of the victim. However, the relationship between the victim and the media requires further attention. Further, the experience of victimhood has become entertainment through the advent of shows focusing upon the reconstruction of the criminal event and the emergence of the 'talk show'. It may be suggested that the time has come to examine the role and consequences of media representations for the education of victims and public about the experience of victimisation if one seeks a more advanced understanding of the experience of crime.

The thesis proceeds to show how academics have 'constructed' the criminal event and how this operates to deny the self constructions on the part of the victim. This emphasis upon construction may be seen to challenge the positivistic nature of much of the literature concerning the study of victims. The objective measurement of the event using the criminal victimisation survey as a key example is shown to be problematic. The experience of crime is treated as objective and conceptually unproblematic. The democratic nature of surveys is shown to stimulate the emergence of critical perspectives including left realism and feminist perspectives. The policy oriented nature of research and uncritical acceptance of interest and support for victims of crime contributes to the need for the construction of a critical victimology. While various suggestions have been made as to what critical victimology should concern itself with, the thesis makes further suggestions including the need to examine critically the use of the term 'victim'. Further, the discipline of victimology requires to recognise and address how victimisation research frequently serves the powerful interests of 'managers' at the expense of other 'stakeholding' interest groups including victims. While taking account of the political context is important there remains a need to understand the experience from the standpoint of the victim and take account of the context in which meanings are constructed.

The thesis therefore seeks to show how the constructions concerning the experience of crime are fairly unsophisticated due to the limitations associated with the positivist paradigm. Overriding concern has been with the identification of causes and objective measurement. A consequence of this is that the victim is constructed as a reified object, rendered passive and ideal or defined as active and subject to blame. The subjection of victims may be understood to be a consequence of the techniques employed by researchers. For example, the categories of the researcher may be utilised at the expense of concern with the meanings constructed by victims. In view of these unsophisticated constructions, an alternative construction of the victim is sought through concern with a literature concerning the psychology of victimisation. This gives emphasis to the cognitive processes of the victim and, in particular, the strategies of coping and risk assessment employed by the victim of crime as a consequence of experience of the criminal event. This literature shows how the criminal event results in the person reordering their world. Thus, the literature contributes to a more a dynamic understanding of the experience of crime on the part of the victim. The literature may be seen to contribute to a more sophisticated construction of the experience of crime although the employment of quantitative

methods may be seen to involve the imposition of categorisation of seriousness by the researcher in such a way that it obscures categorisation by the victim of crime. The thesis proceeds to examine the event as constructed by the victim of crime using a methodology which privileges the constructions of victims of crime over those of the researcher.

The thesis addresses how the victim constructs and understands their experience of the criminal event through employment of an innovative methodology. This involves an application of an interactive computer package for repertory grid analysis. Employment of this tool helps with the elicitation of meanings constructed by the victim and provides an opportunity for the victim to reflect upon their experience of the criminal event. To some extent the technique minimises opportunities for the researcher to impose their categories upon the victim although this may be undermined later through subsequent analysis and the construction of text by the researcher. The technique may be regarded on the face of it as qualitative in nature through concern with the meanings constructed by victims but also involves a quantitative dimension through the rating of constructs and subsequent statistical analysis of the repertory grid which assists with the interpretation of data by the researcher. This technique highlights how information technology may assist with more qualitative approaches which is representative of an increasing trend towards the employment of similar computer packages enabling qualitative analysis.

Previous concerns were raised about the privileging of agency categorisation of 'seriousness' at the expense of the victims own understanding of loss or damage through the classification of 'violent crime' as more serious than 'property crime'. Although some of the problems relating to the concept of 'seriousness' have been overcome by academics through utilisation of the concept of 'impact' this is confined to objective measurable criteria concerning loss or damage. Aware of the limitations of the previous literature, the current study moves away from an orientation towards quantitative measurement to concern with the qualitative experience of crime through concern with the personal meanings constructed by victims of crime as a consequence of the criminal event. A particular concern of this study is to show how the experience of rape which is categorised as a 'violent crime' is more qualitatively similar to the experiences of housebreaking which is classified as a 'property crime'.

The experiences of rape and housebreaking may be viewed as more similar through the experience of the violation of 'boundaries' between personal and external worlds.

The criminal event may operate to violate a sense of personal order necessitating the reconstruction of meanings concerning the categorisation of others and self to regain a sense of order. A particular concern of the thesis will be with examination of the construction of self and perceived change as a consequence of the experience of rape or housebreaking. These 'boundary setting' mechanisms employed by the victim may be viewed as similar to those elaborated upon earlier concerning agencies and academics which operate to reduce the victim to an 'other' or 'outsider'. The categorisation of others by the victim as a perceived threat may be viewed as a form of risk assessment.

This study may also be seen to contribute to existing knowledge concerning the construction of victim identity since the thesis shows how persons who experience crime see themselves as similar to victims immediately after the criminal event but define themselves less as a victim over time. Thus, for the person who has experienced crime, concern is less with 'being' a victim or 'becoming' a victim but with moving beyond the category of victim. It may be argued that construction of self as a victim is not particularly useful since the person defines self in relation to the negative experience of the criminal event. Indeed, in the context of debates which view the category of victim as more helpful than survivor it might be argued that either of these categories is of limited utility as the person who defines themselves using these terms therefore defines self in relation to the criminal event. This issue would seem to be of relevance to both agencies and academics with concern to move beyond the fixed category of victim.

The thesis highlights various themes including those concerned with 'anticipation'. This is evidenced by concern with agency categorisation, the categories employed by academics and also victims themselves as providing a means of making sense of their worlds. Ideas involving 'anticipation' are highlighted further through the event which is beyond the range of convenience of existing construct system and how this leads to more constructive alternatives not only for the victim but also the researcher involved in the research process. The thesis also highlights themes of 'struggle' and 'resistance' through concern with the powerful processes of categorisation employed by agencies and academics and through subsequent concern with revealing victims constructions. This may be seen to be of particular relevance in relation to qualitative research where the researcher is encouraged to think about the employment of strategies which resist 'othering' the victim. The thesis stresses the importance of 'reflexivity' by victims and academic researchers alike. Indeed, it will be argued that

the discipline of victimology requires to become more reflexive in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the experience of crime. The thesis also stresses the importance of 'boundaries' and how these are subject to modification. Indeed, this research seeks to contribute to the further extension of the academic study of victims. In contrast to the employment of fixed categories by agencies and academics, this thesis gives emphasis to 'change' through concern with the way in which the victim reconstructs their world as a consequence of the criminal event. The issue of 'change' may also be seen to be of particular relevance for agencies involved in the provision of victim services. This approach signals the need for the development of a more elaborated victimology of increased conceptual and methodological sophistication. In summary, this thesis seeks to change the way we think about and research victims of crime.

After consideration of the findings of the current study and the merits of conceptualising the victim as a reflexive experiencing subject and possible modifications of the technique in relation to future research, the thesis considers the relevance of this for the researcher and the future study of victims. Having given emphasis to the personal construction of worlds by the victim of crime and how these are subject to change through reconstruction it may be argued that similar arguments are of relevance in relation to the researcher and the research process. In the six years that it has taken to complete this research the investigator has gone through processes of 'construction' and 'reconstruction' in relation to the phenomenon under study. Indeed, a considerable number of developments have taken and continue to take place. In view of these experiences, the final chapter proposes a shift towards a constructivist victimology as providing a basis for increased understanding about the experience of criminal victimisation. This will involve locating the victim in the context of modernity. Further, the thesis will show the victim as constructive and reflexive understanding their experience on the basis of the powerful discourses of 'experts' and agencies and the implications of this for understanding on the part of victims. The thesis elaborates upon the implications of the constructivist approach for methodology. A particular concern here will be with the collaborative role of the researcher in the construction of worlds. This approach highlights the need for awareness on the part of the researcher concerning their involvement in the creation of powerful categories and of the need to actively resist 'othering' the victim. In similar vein, the chapter proceeds to argue for a reflexive victimology which is aware of it's involvement in the construction of victims. Thus, a constructivist approach

may contribute to more informed and sophisticated understanding concerning the experience(s) of victimisation.

Chapter one demonstrates how the 'criminal event' is 'constructed' by agencies in the criminal justice process. This will begin with the location of the victim of crime in historical context. The chapter will proceed by considering a literature which focuses upon the processes of construction employed by the police, prosecution and courts. In this regard, concern will be showing how the system rather than objective, involves processes of organisation, selection and presentation. Particular attention will be directed towards processes of categorisation and agency determination of the 'seriousness' of the event. This chapter concludes with a critical discussion of initiatives which may be viewed as encouraging the construction of a criminal justice system more responsive to the constructions of the victim of crime.

Chapter two considers the various agency responses to victimisation. It seeks to show how problems and solutions are based upon agency definitions. The latter is illustrated in relation to the issue of financial compensation and the limitations of this approach. This is shown further through the emergence of Victim Support and concern with definitions concerning 'victims needs'. This chapter proceeds to show how official concern was with the problem of 'the penal crisis' rather than with the problem of victims. This is evidenced through concern with policies concerning 'mediation' and 'reparation'. The chapter shows how the policy making process involves collection of information, decision-making by committees and recognition of influences upon this for subsequent construction of victims as a problem resulting in state support and funding of victim services. The decision to fund victim services may be viewed as a way of colonising the victim issue. The chapter examines concern with 'victims needs' and 'victims rights' and the shift towards concern with 'victims interests' through the creation of 'victims steering groups' and concern with 'victim impact statements'. The chapter concludes with examination of the complex relationship between the media and the victim. Clearly, processes of construction by the media are indicated through concern with processes of selection and presentation. This section will examine the powerful definitions provided by media sources and the powerful role of the media in the construction of news stories about victims. Despite, the dearth of academic attention concerning the relationship between the media and the victim, this section identifies issues worthy of future academic attention.

Chapter three shows how the criminal event is constructed by academics and how this neglects the event as constructed by the victim. The chapter shows how the majority of research concerning victimisation proceeds from the positivist paradigm. Here, concerns are with objective measurement and the categorisation of victims on the basis of their characteristics and behaviour. A particular concern is with examination of the active role of the victim in the precipitation of the event and how this contributes to blaming. This is followed by concern with providing more accurate measures of crime through the introduction of the criminal victimisation survey. The limitations of objective measurement of crime are considered. Problems relating to the definitions of seriousness are highlighted through concern with the concept of impact which stresses objective measurable criteria involving loss or damage. This is followed by examination of the various critical perspectives stimulated by the democratic nature of crime surveys, in particular, left realism and feminist perspectives. The agenda for a critical victimology is examined. This provides an opportunity to make further contributions including concern with the victim-survivor debates and how victimology has overlooked the way in which research on victims represents powerful interests, most often managers and how this operates to neglect the interests of other "stakeholders" including victims of crime. The chapter will show how the constructions of victimology are therefore simplistic since they view the victim as a reified object, as passive and ideal or active and subject to blame. An alternative construction of the victim is sought in the psychological literature which focuses upon cognitive processes of the victim, in particular, strategies of coping and risk assessment employed by the victim as a consequence of experience of the criminal event.

Chapter four details an alternative methodology with which to explore experiences of victimisation. In response to the disempowering nature of positivist methodologies which involve personal experience being subject to the categories of the researcher repertory grid technique is examined as a way of revealing the personal constructions of victims. Although principal concern is with the repertory grid tool, the chapter provides a brief overview of the theory since it is of interest in relation to the criminal event through concern with the cognitive mechanism of 'anticipation'. Previous applications of the repertory grid tool are considered before detailing the advantages of the computerised version. The chapter explains the rationale for the current sample of people who have experienced rape and housebreaking. This is seen to derive from powerful agency categorisation of 'violent crime' and 'property crime' as distinctive and therefore seldom compared on account of the former being

evaluated as quantitatively more serious than the latter. The current technique seeks to show how "the personal experiences" of some rapes and some burglaries are more qualitatively similar through concern with the 'reconstruction of self'.

Chapters five and six present the results from an application of the computerised repertory grid technique in relation to the personal experiences of rape and burglary respectively. This is followed by a comparison of these experiences.

Chapter seven provides an interpretation of the findings and considers these findings in relation to previous findings. Beyond this, consideration is given to how the victim has been conceptualised and the methods employed in relation to previous research before proposing suggestions for improving the method and areas for future study.

Chapter eight develops some of the ideas concerning the construction of worlds and concern with reflexivity through the proposal of a constructivist victimology as providing a more informed and complex understanding of the experiences of crime. Consideration is given to the implications of the constructivist paradigm for methodology since the researcher is seen to play an active role in the creation of worlds with the informant. Thus it is necessary for the researcher to become aware of their role in processes of construction and resist 'othering' the victim. The chapter concludes by suggesting that victimology become more aware of it's involvement in the construction of victims. This begins with recognition of the 'personal as political' and recognition of involvement in the construction of multiple meanings of victimisation. This calls for awareness on the part of the researcher concerning his or her role in powerful processes of categorisation. The academic may be seen to play a constructive role in encouraging the constructions of victims through the development of theories, methods and innovative techniques. A recognition that these constructions are subject to subsequent reconstruction within the variety of contexts in which they are used is of particular relevance for the researcher since this may lead to the elaboration of more constructive alternatives. A consequence of this is the development of a highly evolved victimology which contributes to a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the experience of victimhood with the certainty that no construction is ever final.

PART I CONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER 1

CONSTRUCTING THE EXPERIENCE OF CRIME I: THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS

1.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates how the criminal event has been constructed by agencies in the criminal justice system. It commences with an examination of a body of literature which focuses upon pre-modern systems of criminal justice and the central role of the victim in relation to decision-making concerning compensation and prosecution. The chapter proceeds to show how the emergence of the state and the development of the modern criminal justice system resulted in decision making by the victim being taken over by the state and how the major concerns were the interests of the system and those concerning the offender. The chapter shows how the victim is excluded and may be viewed as an 'outsider'. Further, it shows how 'insider interests' operate at the expense of 'outsider interests' (Ash 1972). This view is supported by a literature which shows how the victim is constructed by the police, prosecutor and by agencies in the court. This literature also shows how the system is characterised by concern with evaluation of seriousness and how this may obscure perceived seriousness on the part of the victim of crime. Having shown how the victim may be viewed as an 'outsider' in a system which is unresponsive to their concerns, the chapter considers empirical evidence concerning the victim's experience of the criminal justice system. The chapter concludes with a critical examination of recent initiatives concerning restorative justice which may be viewed as seeking to make the criminal justice system more responsive towards victims of crime but may also be considered problematic for a variety of reasons.

1.2 The victim of crime in historical perspective

1.21 Pre-modern justice and victim decision-making

This section examines the role of the victim in pre-modern systems of criminal justice. Particular attention will be directed to the decision-making role of the victim in relation to compensation and prosecution. The emergence of the state and the development of the modern criminal justice system may be seen to exclude the victim in a system which is unresponsive to their interests and constructions.

The victim and compensation

Ancient law, gave emphasis to the victim being repaid through restitution. Under Babylonian Laws of 1700 B.C. The Code of Hammurabi provided for restitution in the relation to property crimes. Roman Law also required compensation of the victim. Here, the offence was regarded as a wrong against the victim and their family. Crime was understood as an event involving those parties and that account had to be taken of this when responding to the wrong done. The central role occupied by the victim is also evidenced in relation to the settlement of private feuding in sixteenth and seventeenth century Scotland. Here, under the Law of the Bloodfeud feuds were averted through the extraction of payment from the offender and their family by the victim (Wormald 1983; Brown 1986). It was therefore possible to settle feuds through victims claiming financial remedy from their perpetrators otherwise known as the acceptance of composition or assythement (Mackay 1989).

In view of the limited accounts available concerning the role of the victim in Scotland it is necessary to draw upon developments in England. During "Anglo Saxon times" the offender was required to make two payments of composition for injuries other than homicide. A payment of Bot was made to the injured and a payment of Wite to the Lord or the King. Scales of payment were based upon the social status of the victim or Wer. It has been suggested that the Lords viewed these payments as a source of revenue other than taxation and that the Lords and Bishops replaced kinship groups as recipients of compensation (Greenberg 1984).

A system of criminal law had already begun to develop in "Anglo Saxon times". The victim could choose between compensation under criminal or under civil law. The victim could select the criminal courts as a means to satisfy vengeance. A victim might opt for civil action since to proceed under criminal procedure all stolen property would go to the Crown. The capacity of the victim to choose was eroded with the emerging role of King and the State in relation to criminal law where the wrong was no longer against the individual but one concerning the state.

Local systems of dispute resolution competed with larger influences. The King was given jurisdiction for certain offences against the King's Peace. Anything which threatened the King's Peace became the subject of the King's jurisdiction. No longer was crime considered a wrong against the individual but as injury to the King and therefore the aim was not recovery by the victim but redressing wrongs done to the King. Compensation to the victim declined as it became more important to

punish the defendant using monetary penalties. This provided the King with a source of revenue in addition to taxes.

Thus compensation to the victim gave way to fines to the Crown which in turn gave way to deterrence and retribution through physical punishment. The criminal was regarded as a public enemy. It was not until the state had the power to enforce penalties that killing was recognised as an offence against the community. The state's power to punish derived from the social contract to which all citizens subscribed. The suppression of crime was no longer the matter of injured individuals and their kin but the state.

The punishment of crime became the territory of the state. Recovery by the victim became a matter for the civil courts. The state's interest in criminal cases was in fixing responsibility of offenders and punishing them rather than with restoring victims to their former position. The state was concerned with controlling injury to the state through various punishments designed to deter or reform the criminal. If victims wanted to recover losses they were required to do so through the civil courts.

The victim and prosecution

There is a dearth of historical accounts concerning the victim's role in Scotland in relation to decision-making concerning prosecution. Available literature focuses upon the contemporary public prosecution process (Moody and Tombs 1982). For the present purpose, reference will be made to developments in England. In pre-modern systems of justice the victim had a duty to prosecute the case. Although the right for individuals to prosecute remains available today it is seldom used. The involvement of the Crown meant that it was no longer a trial between two private individuals. The King relied upon private prosecutions to maintain law and order. The victim could not be compensated for stolen property unless an offender had been convicted on indictment.

Therefore, in England during the eighteenth century the victim of crime played a prominent role in the decision making concerning justice through involvement in prosecution and decision-making concerning charges. This may be viewed as involving considerable burdens upon the individual in terms of loss of time, money and possibilities of intimidation. The costs of prosecution came to be borne by the Crown. Although not all costs were covered, the police took over more of the work in bringing prosecutions. To a large extent losses were borne by the individual. In

recent times an increasing emphasis has been upon compensation by the state and the offender through the introduction of compensation orders and criminal injuries compensation.

It has been argued that the period in which compensation figured prominently was the 'Golden Age of the victim' (Schafer 1968). This Golden Age passed with the centralisation of the state and it's right to punishment. Victims were deprived of compensation. The development of criminal law saw harm done to the state rather than the individual. Thus the victim was excluded from the criminal justice process. The victim became the Cinderella of criminal procedure (Schafer 1960: 8). It may be argued that the Golden Age of the victim was mythical since the victim incurred great burdens in bringing about private prosecutions (Greenberg 1984).

Conventional approaches to justice are based upon the understanding that criminal offences are offences against the state and that they should be prosecuted because the 'public interest' requires it[1]. It may be argued that the victims interests are part of the 'public interest'. The major interest of the state is with controlling response to crime. It is on that basis that offenders are dealt with rather than on the grounds of the will and interests of individuals. The criminal justice system is concerned with fairness and this is demonstrated through concern that sentences should be proportionate to the seriousness of the offence on the basis of public protection (Ashworth 1993; Ashworth 1994).

By contrast, a restitutive approach to justice would be based upon the assumption that crime is primarily an offence against the victim and secondarily to the state. Here, the principal aim would be one concerning the restoration of the victim to their former position before the harm was done through compensation or mediation. Ashworth (1993) recognises that there are few working versions of either model with a compromise being struck between the two approaches and that criminal justice involves elements of compensation in a system based on deserved punishment.

[1] See Moody and Tombs (1982)

1.22 The modern criminal justice system, the state, the interests of the offender and exclusion of the victim of crime.

On the basis of the preceding discussion the central role occupied by the victim was replaced by the state and it's concerns. Thus the role of the victim is one of exclusion. A classic analysis of the position of the victim in contemporary criminal justice systems is provided by Christie (1977). His analysis is of particular value through his conceptualisation of the conflict as 'property' which has been stolen from the victim:

> The key element is in a criminal proceeding is that the proceeding is converted from something between the concrete parties into a conflict between one of the parties and the state. So in a modern criminal trial two important things have happened. First, the parties are being *represented.* Secondly, the one party that is represented by the state, namely the victim, is so thoroughly represented that she or he for most of the proceedings is pushed completely out of the arena, reduced to the triggerer-off of the whole thing. She or he is a sort of double loser; first, vis-à-vis the offender, but secondly and often in a more crippling manner by being denied rights to full participation in what might have been one of the more important ritual encounters in life. The victim has lost the case to the state (Christie 1977: 3).

Christie (1977) proceeds to argue how criminal conflicts have become the property of others, in particular, the property of lawyers. He also states how it has been in the interests of others to 'define conflicts away'. He draws attention to how it is the conflict itself that represents the most interesting property taken away rather than the material goods taken from the victim which may of course be returned. He recognises that:

> The victim is a particularly heavy loser in this situation. Not only has he suffered, lost materially or become hurt, physically or otherwise. And not only does the state take the compensation. But above all he has lost participation in his own case. It is the Crown that comes into the spotlight, not the victim. It is the Crown that describes the losses, not the victim (Christie 1977: 7).

The "modern" criminal justice process emphasises harm done to the state rather the victim. In the modern criminal justice process the victim has been excluded by the state. A central focus of the modern criminal justice system is the relationship between the state and the offender. King (1981) provides a useful analysis of the functions of the contemporary criminal justice system. This account serves to

demonstrate further how the concerns of the system operate and impinge upon the victim regardless of their concerns. King views the principal concerns of the system as those concerned with due process, punishment and crime control, bureaucracy and status degradation.

King (1981) notes how a principal concern of criminal justice is due process. Here, the aim is the resolution of conflicts which arise between the state and citizens and the maintenance of the rule of law and prevention of private feuds. The state as the prosecutor is required to prove that the defendant violated the criminal law. A balance requires to be struck between the demands on the state for public protection and maintenance of law and order against the interests of the individual, the protection of freedom and the minimisation of state intervention into private matters. An emphasis upon rules and adversarial processes assists with the avoidance of mistakes. Central to this the presumption of innocence and the sanctity of legal rules governing police powers and the admissibility of evidence. Principles of fairness and the protection of the individual against the state are also built into procedures.

In the event of conflict between the individual and the state an emphasis is placed upon the interests of individuals. There are firm controls on the state against discretionary and excessive uses of power. A fair hearing is viewed as central. The court may be viewed as a place where the guilty receive a fair sentence which reflects the 'seriousness' of the offence and the 'harm' caused to society.

A major function of the criminal justice system is punishment and crime control. The criminal law is concerned with just deserts and future deterrence. Punishment by the court may be viewed as a statement of disapproval of certain types of behaviour which is reflected in the severity of punishment. These judgements indicate to society what is and is not acceptable. The punishment approach assumes that the individual is fully responsible for his or her behaviour. Further assumptions are made about the individual exercising choice in relation to the matter. The court is therefore viewed as important in the maintenance of law and order. Non punishment may contribute to the breakdown of law and order. The court is an important part of the crime control apparatus and the court appearance functions as a form of deterrence. The aim here is to make the experience as unpleasant as possible for the defendant and therefore assist with the control of crime.

A further function of the criminal process relates to it's bureaucratic purpose. In this regard, an emphasis is placed upon the distribution of resources. Strategies are employed which encourage decision making which helps save time and reduce delay. King (1981) notes how the court functions to generate high levels of emotionality and how there are mechanisms for minimising conflict. The efficient use of resources, bureaucratic demands and constraints is given emphasis inthis model.

A further function of the court is status degradation. The court may be viewed as an institution for shaming the defendant and reducing their social status. This promotes community solidarity by distancing the criminal from the community and emphasising their difference. This serves as a boundary setting mechanism distinguishing them from us. This may affect the self image of the defendant. It may be argued that this process extends to all civilian witnesses including victims.

King's analysis (1981) may be viewed as helpful in furthering one's understanding about how the concerns of criminal justice are quite separate from the concerns of victims. However, his analysis invites criticism on the grounds that he does not convey the relative importance of these functions nor how these may be subject to revision. It may be suggested that a more useful analysis of the functions of the contemporary criminal justice system would be gained from an empirical study oriented towards concern with criminal justice decision-making and one which highlights how the availability of resources may be viewed as an important influence upon criminal justice decision-making. Such an approach may contribute to current understanding of the criminal justice system and explanations concerning the experience of the victim. For example, lack of resources may lead to increasing numbers of guilty pleas or cases being dropped resulting in the invalidation of victim status.

The thesis has shown how the central role once occupied by the victim has been taken over by the state and how the victim is excluded from the criminal justice system. Thus the central focus of the criminal justice system is the relationship between the state and offender. The thesis has shown how the system has various functions which operate regardless of the victim and how these functions may impinge upon the victim in various ways.

Due to concern with the position of the victim in the criminal justice system the current analysis has neglected examination of decision making role of the victim in

relation to the reporting of crime. It is worth commenting upon this before referring to the ambiguous role of the victim. The victim's decision to report a crime is one which is not taken lightly. There are good reasons why some victims report and others decide against this action. The major reason for not reporting crime is the victim's assessment that that the event was of an insufficiently serious nature (Mayhew et al 1989). It is worth noting that the victim's decision to report may be influenced by others (Ruback, Greenberg and Westcott 1984). The victim, therefore plays a vital role in the investigation of crime and as a key witness for the prosecution. However, the role of the victim is one which may be understood as ambiguous (Shapland et al 1985). Christie's (1977) conceptualisation of the conflict as 'property' or a 'case' may contribute to this analysis in which the victim is viewed as an object. Shapland et al (1985) demonstrate how agencies view the victim as an object to satisfy bureaucratic criteria or as little more than a piece of evidence in a successful prosecution. In view of this it is of little surprise that victims may view themselves as a 'non person'. This is substantiated through lack of information (Shapland 1985). Our understanding of the victim in the criminal justice system may also be furthered through the conceptualisation of the victim as an 'outsider' (Rock 1991; Rock 1993). This contributes to the current analysis which gives emphasis to processes of construction by others. Whereas previous analyses give emphasis to claims concerning objectivity through the discovery of 'facts' and presence of formal legal rules (McBarnet 1981) the criminal process may be better understood as one involving processes of construction through the selection and organisation of information.

The following section focuses upon research which shows how the victim is 'constructed' by the police, prosecution and the courts. This gives emphasis to processes of construction through the selection and organisation of information. Evidence of the victim as an outsider involved in a system unresponsive to victims is supported by empirical evidence concerning the victim's experience of the criminal justice system. This section concludes with a critical examination of initiatives which hint at increased responsiveness of the system towards the victim of crime.

1.3 Construction by the police

This section highlights the way in which the victim's experience of 'what happened' undergoes transformation through questioning, observation and categorisation by the by the police. Further transformation occurs through reducing the account into the

textual construction of the police report. Thus "what happened" as defined by the victim becomes 'what happened' according to the reporting officer. This textual account of a professional may be seen to eliminate uncertainties and therefore contribute to certainty. The police report may be persuasive as a text.

Information about criminal incidents comes from a variety of sources. It is worth noting that it is frequently the victim or complainer who provides such information (Reiner 1985). This information is subject to construction by a controller (Shapland and Hobbs 1987). Here, the call is categorised on the basis of it's nature and severity. Calls are also categorised according to priority. Upon arrival at an incident the police will proceed upon the definition of the situation as received from the controller.

The police will proceed on the basis of the information from the controller unless subsequent information is constructed to invalidate this earlier account. McConville, Sanders and Leng (1991: 31-35) provide a good illustration of this using a brawl type incident, where it may be unclear who is the victim and who is the offender at the incident. The police may construct the person standing as the offender. Indeed, in the absence of a complainant the police may arrest everybody (McConville, Sanders and Leng 1991: 31-35).

A previous analysis concerning the nature of policework demonstrated how police classification of civilians including victims is necessary in a job which involves dealing with danger (Reiner 1992). Further evidence of processes of selection and presentation is highlighted by the work of Sanders, McConville and Leng (1991) They show how informal rules are employed by the police in relation to police perception that some victims are more influential than others. They show how complaints which come from traders and the public concerning drunkenness may be responded to partly because of the visibility of the problem. By contrast, 'domestics' and interpersonal violence incidents which do not have public order implications, are often defined as 'rubbish' and therefore subject to redefinition resulting in no further action being taken. Here, less influential victims are considered to be female victims of violence. According to the above analysis police officers are more likely to respond on the basis of the social context of the incident than the 'facts' of the alleged incident and as a consequence there are as many constructions for as many different contexts (Sanders, McConville and Leng 1991).

The aforementioned may seem unproblematic but attention should be drawn to the need for 'facts' to be elicited. To a certain extent the situation is defined for police officers by the controller. However, 'facts' will be elicited through questioning and observation of the parties concerned. The police will elicit information with a view to establishing 'what happened' and whether 'what happened' constitutes a crime. Information given may be false or interpersonal cases may lack the necessary corroboration or there may be inconsistencies compared with other accounts from witnesses. Such reasons may contribute to the police appearing not to not take the victim seriously (Newburn and Merry 1990). Questioning and observation depends upon the constraints of time and the workload of the police. There is little opportunity for the victim to 'tell it like it is'. Even if the victim was able to provide an account of the event in their own words, accounts are subject to reconstruction by the police through bureaucratic requirements and the textual constraints of the police report. Observation of the victim provides information about the character and credibility of the victim. Here, reference may be made to the consistency of the account in relation to other witness accounts. The police construction of may be included in the comments part of the police report.

The organisation of information by the police reflects the demands for decision making by the fiscal. Information will be evaluated in terms of whether it is a "good" case or a "bad" case. This may be largely concerned with the satisfaction of evidential requirements. Consistency in the account will also be examined. In sexual assault cases corroboration will be necessary. The reliability and credibility of the individual will be gauged from questioning and through observation by the officer. Particular attention is directed to the consistency of the account and their character.

1.31 Police construction of categories - 'good' cases and 'bad' cases

A study of incidents concerning sexual assault highlights the way in which the police simplify reality to simple unambiguous categories (Chambers and Millar 1983). In this study, incidents fitting into "good" cases or "real rapes" included, complainer attacked in own home by intruder, respectable complainer attacked by stranger, complainer is severely beaten up, complainer is attacked by violent assailants wanted by or known to the police for crime of violence, assailant uses a weapon and assailant apprehended at scene of crime. "Bad" cases were viewed as those in which there was a previous relationship between the complainer and the offender, the complainer had been out and consumed large amounts of alcohol. Classification is also based upon

the complainants lifestyle, background and actions before the event. Consistencies and inconsistencies in the complainants version of events, the complainant's condition after the incident and whether the complainant reported the crime immediately may also contribute to classification. A further factor is the presence of corroboration, an important issue in the context of sexual assault or incidents of domestic violence.

An interesting aspect of Chamber and Millars' study (1983) relates to the way in which 'what happened' according to the victim of sexual assault was subject to reinterpretation by the police officer and downgraded to 'no further action' as a consequence of discrepancies in the victim's account. The action of the complainant walking out of the office was categorised as a "complainer initiated withdrawal". This resulted in the incident being 'no crimed' which helped raise the clear up rate. This research contributed to subsequent policy which minimised 'no criming' in relation to sexual assault.

Finally, the 'facts' as constructed by the reporting officer are then translated into a police report or summary of the incident along with comments about the character and credibility of the witnesses. Thus 'what happened' according to the victim is translated through construction of 'facts' but subject to further translation when transformed into the text of the police report. The constraints of this document may operate to eliminate ambiguity and complexity of reality further through the use of simple categories. Reality is reduced to persuasive powerful simple categories combined with it's status as an official account of reality it is highly persuasive and operates to define the situation for the prosecutor in decision making concerning prosecution. Thus, it may be argued that the police report functions as an 'advance organiser' for the prosecutor (Guba and Lincoln 1989).

1.32 The police report as a textual construction

Finally, the police will complete a crime report and this will be a summary of 'what happened' and will include the victim's statement and statements from other witnesses. It may also include remarks of the reporting officer concerning the credibility and reliability of witnesses based upon questioning and observation at interview. Although it includes statements of witnesses it is framed in such a way that it is essentially the reporters interpretation of 'what happened'. Thus the personal experience of the event or 'what happened' according to the victim is transformed

and 'facts' constructed through questioning and observation to become a case or textual construction of 'what happened' from the reporting officers point of view. Emphasis on collection of information and 'facts' and evidential information by the police contribute to construction of the 'case' as unproblematic. However, the case is revealed as problematic through categorising by the police of what constitutes a 'good' case or a 'bad' case and their view of the behaviour and attitudes of the victim. Moody and Tombs (1982) in their study of the public prosecution process in Scotland recognise how the act of "capturing an actual event on paper operates to remove ambiguities and inconsistencies of reality most particularly when trying to contain description within a standard format" (Moody and Tombs 1982: 45). Thus the text of the police report contributes towards the creation of certainty. The text of the police report may be persuasive as a text.

1.4 The process of prosecution

The police report, may be viewed as a product of a culmination of construction processes involving data collection, the construction of 'facts' and the application of informal rules on the part of the police. The victim is constructed as a 'good' case or a 'bad' case. Beyond allegations concerning the use of stereotypical categories which may be due to the routine nature of work and constraint of format and time, the police report provides a powerful definition of reality. Reality appears as simple, uncomplicated and persuasive by virtue of simple categories and it's status as an official account of what happened. The police report provides a powerful definition of the situation for the prosecutor who has to rely almost entirely upon this in relation to decision making about prosecution.

In summary, the prosecutor relies almost entirely upon the police report in decisions about prosecution. This involves sifting and evaluation of information. It is only in exceptional cases that the prosecutor would have contact with the reporting officer to request more information. For the prosecutor initial knowledge of the incident will be in the form of the police report. The prosecutor has to sift and evaluate such information and this is known as 'marking'. In constructivist terms this may be seen as a process of cumulative construction in which agency constructions are aggregated with and based upon previous agency constructions rather than the victim's account of his or her experience.

1.41 Aggregate construction and the prosecution of crime

The "marking" process involves the fiscal examining police reports concerning alleged offences and deciding whether an accused person will be prosecuted, on what charge, and in what court. Moody and Tombs (1982) suggest that this expression may have originated in the practice by the fiscal of underlining significant words or phrases in the report which may be regarded as crucial in prosecuting and establishing the prosecution case in court. 'Marking' may also refer to the notes made on the minute sheet attached to the back of the report which record, in abbreviated form, the processing of the case. The decision the fiscal makes when marking a report will determine to a large extent how a case is processed. The prosecutor is required to weigh up the evidential value of the information presented to him and decide whether there is a prima facie case.

Thus the police report is crucial and the job of the reporting officer significant. The difficulties of capturing an event on paper have already been recognised. The police report may function in such a way as to minimise complexity and disagreement. The standard format is also limiting. The employment of simple categories which are often stereotypical in nature is also worthy of note. (Freidson 1973:125 cited in Moody amd Tombs 1982). The prosecutor may refer to the section headed comments where the police may include further observations about the accused or his family. Although the police report focuses upon the nature of the offence the language is stereotypical and the presentation operates to minimises uncertainty and inconsistency therefore contributing to construction of the case for the prosecution (Moody and Tombs 1982:45).

Moody and Tombs (1982) note how 'marking' requires considerable skills, in particular, those concerning the assimilation of information and deciding upon important points. The drafting of charges also involves considerable skill. Decision-making is often of an individualised nature. The routinised nature of marking and the presumption in favour of prosecution may be seen to contribute to the elimination of ambiguity. These skills are acquired and applied through the simplification and categorisation of cases.

'Marking' constitutes a significant part of the fiscal's job. Crime reports arrive daily and therefore require to be dealt with on a daily basis. The job of marking is fitted into a daily schedule of trial work and preparation of cases. Thus, there is a degree of urgency involved in the task of marking due to the constant flow of cases. In these

circumstances decision making by the fiscal may be oriented towards saving time and expense and encouragement of order and predictability within the system (King 1981:104).

For the most part the fiscal will rely upon the crime report in reaching decisions. However, there may be instances when, for example, in the event of a charge or counter charge; the victim in one, being the accused in the other, the fiscal may . discuss the issue of credibility with the police. As mentioned before the submission of a police report involves a strong presumption in favour of prosecution since the matter would not have been reported otherwise.

It is the fiscal alone who can decide whether or not to prosecute on grounds other than legal criteria. Arguments in favour of prosecution are those concerned with 'public interest'. A major reason for not proceeding relates to 'insufficient evidence' such as a lack of corroboration (Moody and Tombs 1982: 60-61). A further reason for not proceeding is based upon the principle de minimis non curat lex. This is a reference to how the law does not concern itself with trivial matters. Moody and Tombs (1982) note how there are some fiscals who recognise difficulties concerning definitions of triviality (Moody and Tombs 1982:61-64). For example, decisions concerning triviality may involve a number of factors being taken into account. What may be regarded as trivial to the fiscal making the decision may not be trivial to the parties concerned. Further, trivial matters may have serious consequences.

1.42 Seriousness and the process of construction by the fiscal

The fiscal has to make a decision concerning the choice of summary or solemn procedure. The major determinant of this appears to be the seriousness of the offence (Moody and Tombs 1982: 85-86). Moody and Tombs (1982) note how fiscals make broad distinctions between offences against the person and offences against property and apply different criteria on the basis of this distinction. In either case the assessment of seriousness is viewed as a complex matter which is largely a product of individual judgement. In relation to offences against the person the result of the assault is not the only criterion in the assessment of seriousness of an offence. The circumstances surrounding the criminal incident may be just as important. In relation to crimes against property, reference will be made to the objective value of the goods stolen, regardless of subjective knowledge on the part of the accused concerning the value of the goods stolen.

Summary procedure is viewed as relatively straightforward and is aimed at encouraging the expeditious processing of cases. Solemn procedure is reserved for more serious cases. When a fiscal decides that a case requires trial by jury this will involve preparation of a preliminary indictment called a petition which is lodged with the sheriff at the petition hearing. After the accused is committed for trial the fiscal investigates the case fully, interviews witnesses and obtains statements from them. This stage is referred to as precognition. Whereas in summary procedure the prosecutor will not interact with the victim until court, if there is a trial under solemn procedure, precognition by the prosecutor allows the prosecutor to assess the reliability and credibility of the victim in person. Already informed by the reporting officer's definition of the situation, the prosecutor will seek to evaluate the victims version of events through questioning. This interview is transformed into a textual format known as a precognition statement. Precognition also provides an opportunity for the prosecutor to make judgements about the witness in relation to the prosecution case. Thus precognition renders the victim more predictable. The precognition file is then presented before Crown council for a decision as to whether the trial should proceed on indictment.

1.43 Formal categorisation and informal influences in the legal process

Much of the authority of the legal system is derived from claims concerning objectivity and adherence to formal legal rules yet the reality is closer to a process characterised by informal negotiations (Baldwin and McConville 1977). For the most part convictions are not the result of a trial but the result of guilty pleas by defendants. These informal negotiations are necessary insofar as they save time and expense and are therefore welcomed by both prosecutor and defence agent. However, these informal negotiations have been subject to criticism on the basis of timing rather than the practice itself (Thomson 1975:97 cited in Moody and Tombs1982). It is the defence agents who decide when to approach prosecution and this can take place at any time before the trial. Thus the defence is the initiator rather than the prosecutor. Negotiations are between professionals not civilians. The prosecutor is representing the state and as a bureaucrat is encouraged to save time and money. The victim is seldom informed of these negotiations. Further, these negotiations may operate to invalidate victim status (Moody and Tombs 1982).

1.5 Construction of the victim at court

Previous analyses of the criminal court have focused not only upon the presence of formal legal rules (McBarnet 1981) but on the importance of informal rules (Carlen 1976). The current analysis will focus upon Rock's analysis of the victims experience at court (Rock 1991; Rock 1993). This analysis is of particular use through the conceptualisation of people as 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The victim may be perceived as a potential threat to 'insider interests' requiring to be controlled both spatially and temporally. A further analysis draws attention to the structural problems faced by the victim in particular how the victim is often caught between the clash of professionals definitions of reality (McBarnet 1983). On the basis of the above analyses it is of little surprise that empirical evidence reveals victim dissatisfaction concerning their experience of the criminal justice system (Shapland 1985). The concerns of the victim relate to a lack of information and time spent waiting (Wilson 1993) evidence of a system unresponsive to victims.

1.51 Space, regulation and categorisation

At court the professional regulars are easily discernible from civilians in terms of attire with the professionals in suits and gowns often engaged in conversation with other professional regulars or clients. To some extent victims and the accused are indistinguishable. These civilians as 'outsiders' are escorted from public spaces to witness waiting rooms to avoid threats to order. This involves further processes of categorisation as to whether a witness for the prosecution or defence. A consequence of this is the spatial separation of the victim from the accused through locating each in spaces separate from each other thereby minimising potential threats to order and possible contamination of evidence (Rock 1990). This concern with grading and classification of court visitors can be contrasted with the public space of the cafeteria area where there may be possibility for disorder through professional insiders and civilians sitting at close proximity albeit at separate tables in a confined area. Beyond this, certain areas of the court are marked as private territory for the use of court staff and professionals (see Rock 1990: 197-262). Further evidence of symbolic spacing and placing is found in the courtroom (Carlen 1976; Rock 1990). In particular, the court itself is a quadrilateral in which professionals occupy the inner circle and civilian outsiders are located in the outer circle (Donzelot 1980).

1.52 The function of time

In addition to the organisation of space it is competent to refer to the organisation of time at court and the implications of this for the management and experience of the victim. Rock (1990: 263) refers to the presence of two forms of experience of time in the court. He notes how the first is concerned with 'cyclical time' and focuses upon the professionals experience of time. He notes how in a large organisation it is necessary for business to be co-ordinated by timetables. Schedules are necessary for any large-scale bureaucracy dealing with large amounts of business. Court business starts at 10am every morning and both civilians and professionals are expected to be ready to commence business. In relation to the cyclical nature of court business, Rock notes how court business is influenced by staff holidays and leave. To some extent the availability of judges also influences the schedule of the court. Rock notes how there is a weekly rhythm to court business with certain days designated for certain types of hearings. He notes how 'cyclical time' for 'insiders' emphasised through the recurrence of beginnings, middles and ends of trials. However, there is little certainty concerning the identical repetition of events. Rock notes how the experience of time is different for civilians. He shows how civilians view the time of professionals as 'linear'. However, civilians do not occupy the same temporal world of the professional. As Rock notes, both may share the same clock time and local time of the court that is where the similarities end. As a civilian may have no previous experience to draw upon he or she is not in a position to anticipate the future. While the civilian may spend months waiting they are unaware of the alternating of activities concerning the construction of reports and statements. As lists of court business are provisional and subject to change it is common for a witness who has spent months waiting to be called at short notice to appear in the court. If court business proceeded according to schedule people could anticipate what was before them. However, the system is characterised by delay and uncertainty. This is to be expected when you consider the number of people involved in a criminal trial. Adjournments are frequent and even in circumstances when the necessary people are present the defendant may plead guilty. Court schedules are subject to change and this combined with adjournments results in considerable time spent waiting. Rock (1990) notes how time spent waiting alternates between activity and inactivity. It would seem that the time of professional witnesses including doctors is valued more than the time of civilian witnesses. It is reasonable to conclude that the experience of being a witness is one to be equated with waiting and time passing slowly. Frequently, witnesses are uninformed and this minimises anticipation of the future by the civilian

witness. In the event that the trial proceeds, the victim is escorted from the crown witness waiting room to the court. The timing and the co-ordination of entrances and exits is an important aspect of order maintenance in the court (Carlen 1976). Thus, temporal control may be viewed as a way of rendering 'unpredictable outsiders' more predictable.

1.53 Informed constructions of insiders and uninformed constructions of outsiders

The position of the victim as an 'outsider' to the system is to be contrasted with the position of the 'insider'. While the victim may have direct experience of the event as a non regular they have little knowledge of formal and informal rules. By contrast the professionals are legally qualified and as court regulars have knowledge not only of the formal legal rules but informal rules, in particular those relating to the organisation of talk in the court (Atkinson and Drew 1979). Professional regulars will also have more sophisticated constructions on the basis of previous interactions with other court regulars. In addition, the constructions of professionals will be based upon the previous constructions provided by the police report and witness statements. In some instances the fiscal and the defence agent may have additional information gained through precognition statements. The constructions of the fiscal are informed and sophisticated as a consequence of previous experience and interactions with people and personnel. A further explanation of the apparently more complex constructions of professionals may be derived from knowledge of the informal rules and in particular the organisation of talk in the court in relation to 'turn taking' (Atkinson and Drew 1979). The relative and apparent sophistication of professionals constructions may be explained further through the ability of professional insiders to define reality as they wish. In other words professionals have access to an 'elaborated code'[2]. By contrast, the civilian witness who is subject to questioning is denied the opportunity of defining reality and therefore has access to a 'restricted code' (Bernstein 1959). It has been argued that the imposed fragmented nature of this functions to make witness accounts less persuasive than the uninterrupted narrative of the professionals (Bennet and Feldman 1981). It may also serve the purpose of making 'outsiders' more predictable.

[2] See Carlen (1976)

1.54 Constructing the prosecution case - the 'ideal' victim

The account of the event or 'what happened' according to the victim is transformed and reconstructed through questioning by the prosecutor to build the prosecution case. The prosecutor seeks to prove the charges by eliciting sufficient information from the victim. The prosecutor will avoid the inclusion of extras which may contribute to the construction of reality as complex and ambiguous as in real life incidents (McBarnet 1983). Concern is with keeping issues clear cut and establishing the "facts" to prove the offence. This may involve the prosecutor playing down the behaviour of the victim and the existence of prior relationships or contact with the accused. In this way the victim is constructed as ideal, shadowy and passive as only interacting with the offender once and not as having undertaken any action during this time (Shapland et al 1985). To achieve this construction will involve employment of various techniques which control the victim. This may involve the use of closed questions and restriction of the witness to short answers. For most victims this is an unrehearsed performance with the exception of those who have experienced precognition. It carries the potential for disorder and thus the need for techniques concerning control of the witness is essential. Examination contributes to the construction of reality as unambiguous and certain and therefore provides a powerful definition of reality.

1.55 The function of alternative accounts

Cross examination of the victim by the defence agent is concerned with suggesting that reality is not so simple and straight forward as suggested in the prosecution account but rather more complex and ambiguous. Cross-examination involves constructing an alternative account of events. This may involve the victim being encouraged to offer the extras which were suppressed by the prosecutor in the earlier account. Questioning is directed towards testing the reliability and credibility of the witness. This may involve questioning and eliciting information about the behaviour and lifestyle of the victim, consumption of alcohol, prior relationships and contact with the accused. Throughout cross-examination reference is made throughout to the earlier account and how what is being said contradicts it therefore the victim is either unreliable or lying to the court. The discrediting nature of cross-examination may provoke emotional outbursts which discredit the victim further. Emotion may disrupt the order of the court and require the intervention of the judge (Rock 1991). Thus cross-examination in providing an alternative account challenges the image of the 'ideal victim' constructed during prosecution. In addition to this, it highlights the

contradiction between the victim appearing to be a good witness through a calm and rational response and the victim as a good victim through appearing tearful and emotional upset. It is impossible to be both. Cross examination therefore contributes to the construction of reality as more complex and ambiguous rendering the prosecution version of reality as less certain.

1.56 The function of order, threats to order and strategies of blaming

In large part the criminal process may be viewed as an ordering process (Ericson and Baranek 1982). Evidence of ordering is highlighted in accounts of the criminal process. Ordering processes range from those which distinguish 'insiders' from 'outsiders' (Rock 1991; Rock 1993) to the categorisation of 'good' and 'bad' cases on the basis of the character and behaviour of witnesses (Chambers and Millar 1983) and timing and spacing (Rock 1991; Rock 1993). These processes of ordering contribute to a predictable system and the smooth processing of cases. However, the presence of 'outsiders' represent the ever present threat to order demanding the implementation of strategies to deal with the problem. The victim as an inexperienced lay person may violate the formal rules of hearsay (McBarnet 1983). Further, the victim as an inexperienced outsider may offer unnecessary extras which contribute to making the prosecution's version of reality less certain and ambiguous. In such circumstances the victim may be subject to degradation techniques (McBarnet 1983). Beyond this, the victim may depart from their previous statement upon which the prosecution case was constructed. In these circumstances the witness may be treated as hostile to the state's case and may be subject to techniques of degradation and punishment by 'their own side' (McBarnet 1983). It is perhaps more common to think of degradation in relation to cross examination where the victim may be goaded and how these emotional outbursts may discredit the victim further since they violate order in the court. The potential for disorder may be viewed as being shared by the victim and defendant alike since they are:

> witnesses not to their own experiences but to a professional's case shaped not by the complexities and ambiguities of real life but by the black and white conceptions of the adversarial trial (McBarnet 1983 299).

1.6 Meaning, categorisation and definition

1.61 The function of artificial dichotomies

The literature on the criminal justice process highlights how 'facts' and concepts are pressed into dichotomous categories ranging from agency categorisation of 'good' and 'bad' cases the presence of formal and informal rules to more recently those concerning 'insiders' and 'outsiders' and 'ideal' and blameworthy victims. These dichotomies may be seen to serve vital functions insofar as they provide powerful definitions of reality in the maintenance of order.

In relation to the discussion above it is of particular interest to note that the availability of a third verdict in the Scottish criminal justice system which may be viewed as challenging the dichotomous categories of criminal justice should be at the centre of recent controversy. In Scotland three verdicts are available - guilty, not guilty and not proven. The not proven verdict may be returned when the prosecution evidence does not satisfy the requirement of proof beyond reasonable doubt. The return of this verdict operates to prevent a retrial. The problematic nature of this verdict has been highlighted in relation to recent murder trials in which the not proven verdict was returned. Criticism has focused upon the verdict providing a middle range solution in jury decision-making and which prevents a retrial. It has been argued that this verdict leads to an unsatisfactory state of affairs particularly for relatives of the deceased but also in relation to stigmatisation of the accused. As part of the unique Scottish legal tradition there is considerable resistance to the abolishment of the not proven verdict although the debate continues (see Gow 1993). The availability of a third option highlights the problems in relation to decision-making in the criminal justice system when one departs from the use of dichotomies in the criminal process.

In relation to the observation concerning the use of dichotomies in criminal justice McBarnet (1978) argues that academics have used false dichotomies to understand the criminal process. She draws attention to the way in which academic concern has been with examination of behaviour in the system rather than with examination of the system itself. She feels that academics have been preoccupied with the use of informal rules rather than with the formal rules of the criminal process and that there has been little concern for issues concerning the hierarchical nature of the criminal justice process and the definitions of the powerful. McBarnet notes a further academic preoccupation is witnessed in the form of theories which focus

upon the artificial dichotomies between 'the law in the books' and the 'law in action' and how these analyses neglect the complex relationship between the two. McBarnet notes how the employment of dichotomies by the academic may be viewed as contributing to an artificial split in the analysis of the law and how this in turn, may fuel the false split between theory and empiricism. These analyses may be seen to contribute to the creation of sides and neglect the presence of a complex relationship characterised by tension or struggle. McBarnet suggests that the employment of dichotomies in relation to academic research may threaten rather than encourage criminal justice research. To bring about change necessarily involves both theory and practice. McBarnet suggests that one solution may be to concern oneself with practical rather than academic issues. She provides the example of order maintenance in the court which functions to save time. Criminal justice research by shifting towards concern with practical policy recommendations and research may bring about improvements in practice including provision of information to victim/witnesses. The relationship between research and practice rather than dichotomous in nature is to be viewed as intertwined with research feeding back into improving practice. McBarnet is aware of the need for researchers to be aware of the counterfeit dichotomies which are frequently used to organise criminal justice research. As McBarnet notes, it is important to remember that "systems do not operate themselves; people construct them". It is therefore necessary to explain the criminal justice system through concern with the constructions of officials. It may be argued that concern should extend to the constructions of people who experience the criminal justice process if one is to understand the criminal justice system. To some extent these problems may be overcome through the introduction of the concept of standpoint epistemology (Cain 1990). The researcher by including their own standpoint within their methodology and awareness of their position may avoid the construction of false dichotomies (Steier 1991).

1.62 The function of constructed seriousness in the sentencing process

The responsibility for sentencing remains with the judge. Judges have considerable discretion in sentencing matters. While judicial decision-making may be limited to some extent by legislative provisions and other factors which require to be taken into account including the circumstances of the offender and his or her behaviour there

remains a considerable discretion available to the judiciary. As such there may be circumstances when sentencing does not reflect the 'seriousness' of the crime. This issue was addressed through the construction of a dozen guideline judgements by the Court of Appeal. One example of such a guideline judgement is the Billam guideline in relation to the offence of rape (*Billam* (1986) 8 Cr. App R 407). The Lord Chief Justice established two starting points of five and eight years imprisonment according to the presence or absence of certain factors. He elaborated upon eight aggravating factors, three mitigating factors and certain factors which the court should not take into account. While there was little guidance as to the weight that was to be given to aggravating factors the judgement represented an improvement upon guidance offered in relation to other crimes. Sentence may be deferred to allow information to be collected about the offender's circumstances and allow preparation of a social inquiry report. While there is provision for making a compensation order this provision has been under-utilised by judges. Several reasons for this state of affairs have been given and include the offender having insufficient financial means and lack of guidance for judges on how to use the sentence or lack of information about the losses incurred by the victim since the victim is not represented. Under the Criminal Justice Act 1988 s.104 (1) it is now a legal requirement that judges provide reasons for not using the sentence. Concerns have been expressed about the variation in sentencing among similar types of crime and the media has drawn attention to cases involving lenient sentencing. A recent Scottish Crime survey (Anderson and Leitch 1996) canvassed public attitudes about sentencing. Many felt that a financial penalty should be imposed. While half of the respondents felt that the offender was dealt with leniently victims were more likely to think that the offender had been dealt with more leniently. The principal problem concerning the evaluation of seriousness by the judge relates to it being based upon an assessment of the offender's conduct. The interests of the victim are not represented and judicial interpretations may conflict with the sense of loss as constructed by the victim of crime. Recent proposals to introduce victim impact statements may be seen as a possible way of influencing judicial evaluation of seriousness in favour of the victim. While this may be seen to raise issues concerning sentencing this shift may be seen as signalling greater account being taken of the victim in the criminal justice process particularly in relation to matters concerning compensation.

1.63 The victim's experience of the criminal justice system

According to the previous literature, emphasis has been given to the way in which the victim has been constructed by others through crime being regarded as harm against the state rather than the individual and how this operates to exclude the victim and their constructions. Construction of the victim has been demonstrated in relation to the police, prosecutor and at court. The literature which follows considers empirical evidence of victims experiences of the criminal justice process. It shows how a major source of dissatisfaction for victims stems from a system which is unresponsive to their constructions; for example, not being taken seriously by the police. Beyond this, the research shows how even researchers have been unresponsive to victims through imposing their categories upon victims.

A number of positivistic empirical studies reveal negative attitudes on the part of the victim. These findings may be viewed as consistent with the colonising or 'othering' nature of reality or case construction by the police. A sense of being taken seriously is of crucial importance to the victim. As mentioned previously the police may appear suspicious because of the possibility of false accounts or alternative subsequent accounts being made. The problem of being taken seriously is amplified among women who have been sexually assaulted (Chambers and Millar 1983). Here, victims were critical of the conduct of the interview and the demeanour of the interviewer rather than the content of questions. The features which were regarded as contributing to negative attitudes were scepticism which pervades CID work, a tendency to dichotomise incidents into 'good' or 'bad' cases based on the 'facts' of the case and the complainers character, unrealistic expectations of complainers pre and post assault behaviour, testing complainers story against higher legal standards than required by court and the use of consent criteria.

There is ambiguity in the role of the victim insofar as he or she is a significant provider of information in reporting crime but whose needs for information are overlooked once the case proceeds. Information is of major importance to the victim. (Shapland et al 1985). Although victims are fairly satisfied with their contact with the police, lack of information is perceived as a problem as the case proceeds. All too often the public are left with the impression that further contact has been initiated by the police because of a need to satisfy some bureaucratic need or routine (Shapland et al 1985). For example, victims may be contacted for the purpose of looking at photo fits or to attend an identification parade (Newburn and Merry 1990). Police officers do not routinely offer information about Victim Support. Most officers do not

consider that to be part of their job. Even if they do victims were distinguished according to certain characteristics attributes or other forms of behaviour rather than by the nature of the offence (Newburn and Merry 1990). Despite these findings it seems that victims on the whole are satisfied with their contact although this declines as the case proceeds due to lack of information (Shapland 1985).

Research shows how from the point of view of the victim it is the prosecutor who is regarded as the most unsatisfactory actor in the criminal process (Shapland 1985). The reasons given are disinterest in the victim. Seldom will the prosecutor have contact with the victim before the trial unless in solemn cases for the purpose of precognition where the victim's evidence is tested in relation to reliability and character and against the earlier account given to the police. The precognition interview is experienced as stiff (Wilson 1993). Contact with the victim is initiated in circumstances where information from the victim may have consequences for the prosecution case. Seldom is there an opportunity for the victim to request information from the prosecutor. The prosecutor would argue that impartiality is an important quality of the prosecutor (Sheehan 1975). The prosecutor represents the state and any meeting with the victim before the trial may be seen as compromising the position of the fiscal. It may be reasonable to suggest that one of the main reasons for lack of contact is a consequence of lack of time and even if time is available preference is for contact with professional insiders rather than outsiders including victims. Interactions with civilians are solely to do with obtaining information. The victim is not a client but an object, an 'unpredictable outsider' who may jeopardise order and is therefore not to be trusted. Basic information is provided to victims in the form of a witness citation and map of the court but little information is given to victims about what to expect as a witness. Other than this, due to lack of continuity in processing cases it would be difficult to ensure a named contact for a victim. The prosecutor could argue that he or she represents the state and not the victim. On a practical level the availability of such a named contact would be difficult to ensure because of the nature of working between courts and the office. A frequent problem to arise is lack of information concerning guilty pleas. In the majority of circumstances negotiations are initiated by defence agents moments before the trial is expected to commence. The witness is not informed of the likelihood of such an occurrence[3]. Thus the victim occupies a somewhat ambiguous role in that they are

[3] A table of statistics based upon court records of court business at a Scottish Sheriff Court revealed the likelihood of evidence being heard in summary trials was of the order of a third. This table was not included in the final report (Wilson 1993).

highly significant in invoking the criminal process through the reporting of crime and provision of information but their information requirements are frequently overlooked.

It has been argued that research studies reporting on victims experiences at court have tended to generalise from research which examines the experiences of rape victims (McBarnet 1983). Although studies based on observations of trials do reveal discrediting techniques and distress experienced by victims, empirical survey findings reveal that giving evidence did not seem to present a problem to victims (Shapland 1985). The perceived problems are rather with the inconvenience of waiting and lack of information (Wilson 1993). Certainly obtaining a sample of victims at court would seem to present problems. This may be attributed to the majority of cases resulting in guilty pleas and victims being eager to go home at the earliest possible time after involvement in a lengthy process. It is the view of the author that a favourable time and place to conduct research with victim/witnesses would be during the hours spent waiting in witness waiting rooms.

1.64 Restorative justice - from functional dichotomies towards joint construction?

This section critically examines measures which are supposed to improve the position of the victim. According to (Duff 1988) in order to improve the position of the victim account has to be taken of three relationships; state and offender, victim and offender and state and victim. As previously mentioned the criminal justice system is largely concerned with the relationship between state and offender. It has been argued that more account be taken of the other two relationships. Christie (1977) has already argued that the conflict of the victim was stolen by the state and bureaucracies and of the need for the victim to be reinvolved.

However, inclusion of the victim in the equation of criminal justice has been recognised as problematic (Duff 1988). This is evidenced in relation to those measures concerning compensation by the offender and criminal injuries compensation scheme. The former strengthening the relationship between the victim and the offender and the second strengthening the relationship between victim and state.

According to Duff (1988), since 1980 the criminal courts have had the power to order compensation to be paid by an offender on conviction as part of his or her sentence. The major problem with the compensation order is that it is geared more towards dealing with the offender and with the decision-making about an appropriate penal sanction than with conflict resolution between victim and offender. The problem could be overcome by ensuring that the victim was compensated by the offender, abandoning the aim of punishing the offender since the latter may be seen as of limited ude in a climate where crime rates continue to rise. Perhaps the criminal justice system should focus upon the relationship between victim and offender. However, to focus exclusively upon the relationship between offender and victim would mean that the relationship between offender and state would be ignored as would the important societal dimension.

Duff (1988) notes how there are further difficulties associated with reorienting the criminal process towards the victim using compensation orders. In many instances offenders do not have the financial means to compensate the victim in full. There is little sense in making a wrongdoer who does not have resources being made to pay and imprisoned for non payment. Thus the loss incurred by the victim is secondary to the interests of the offender. In Scotland it is viable for a compensation order to replace the fine when the offender is unable to pay both. As the focus of the criminal process is on the offender there is little information about loss experienced by the victim. As Duff (1988) notes where staff are already burdened by ever increasing workloads it would seem unlikely that investigations into losses on the part of the victim will feature. In addition, there would seem to be difficulties in relation to the quantification of losses. Compensation to the victim is peripheral to the main thrust of the criminal process. Duff (1988) notes how this situation is perpetuated through the passive role occupied by the victim. The victim is unable to provide evidence about his or her losses nor can he or she apply for compensation orders to be made. The victim is a recipient. In addition to this the criminal process operates in the 'public interest' rather than the 'victims interests'. To take account of the interests of the victim may be perceived as threatening the efficiency of the current system. Indeed, Duff notes how it is business organisations rather than individuals who have benefited from the criminal injuries system. This is attributed to organisational experience of bureaucracy and how this functions in such a way that the right sort of information is gathered and placed before the prosecutor. A major problem relating to the award of compensation orders derives from the judiciary focusing upon the

relationship between state and offender with the victim-offender relationship being regarded as a matter for civil procedure (see Duff 1987; Duff 1988; Miers 1978).

The criminal injuries compensation scheme was set up in 1964. The aim of compensation by the state has come through recognition that harm done has arisen from a criminal act. The state will only award compensation where the act is deliberate. There are problems relating to what constitutes 'violent crime'. The issue was highlighted in relation to claims made by train drivers as a consequence of people placing themselves in the path of oncoming trains. There are difficulties in relation to the determination of the amount of compensation. However, the task is facilitated through the tariff of awards which is available from the criminal injuries compensation board. Awards are made if injuries fall within the financial limits of the scheme. Thus many victims who have received injuries may be ineligible for assistance. In the event of payment being made there may be considerable delay. Duff (1988) notes how questions have been raised about who should be responsible for the running of this scheme. It has been suggested that if the scheme was not run by the state then victims might receive more favourable awards. However, Government funding of this scheme shows concern for victims. In relation to concerns about victim participation it may be argued that form filling does not give a sense of involvement in the criminal justice system. In addition to this compensation is only paid after criminal proceedings are finished and thus further delay is involved. Duff (1988) claims that many victims are unaware of the scheme. A reason for this is that compensation is peripheral to the main aims of the criminal justice system. No agency is regarded as having responsibility for informing victims about compensation. It is to be noted that compensation is awarded only to those persons defined as 'deserving victims'. Compensation may be rejected on the basis of the behaviour and character of a victim which indicates that the person is not 'deserving' of public sympathy regardless of whether their conduct or character contributed to his or her victimisation. Thus decisions about compensation are discretionary because of lack of a state definition concerning the victim. Under the Criminal Justice Scotland Act 1988 the victim has the right to apply for compensation. As Duff (1988) registers, there remain a number of impediments to orienting the existing criminal process towards the victim and efforts to do so may result in structural strain and meet with bureaucratic resistance. Alternatives to the current system may require to be sought outside the formal criminal process.

Mediation

Despite difficulties concerning the question of involvement of the victim into the equation of the criminal justice system there has been considerable interest in the restoration of the victim and the community to their former state. This interest may be understood to have evolved through dissatisfaction with the contemporary criminal justice system. Mediation provides an alternative form of conflict resolution involving victims and offenders meeting one another to resolve problems. The role of the mediator is one oriented towards empowering parties to reacquire control over their own relationship rather than the maintenance of order imposed by authority. Thus the aim of the process of mediation is to reorient the parties towards each other, not by imposing rules on them but by helping them to achieve a new and joint perception of their relationship which will help redirect their attitudes towards each other (Fuller 1971 cited in Wright 1991). Mediation emphasises reconciliation and processes of negotiation and conciliation rather than the violation and breakdown of relationships. The process fosters the encouragement of responsibility for past behaviour rather than encouragement of blaming. Mediation however may be seen to have limitations. Some people have viewed mediation as a form of informal social control by the state which perpetuates theft of the conflict and which perpetuates and worsens inequalities. Further, while mediation as an alternative was initially greeted with some enthusiasm by prosecutors it may also be viewed as time consuming and demanding of resources. The practice of encouraging guilty pleas may be viewed as an favoured alternative less draining of resources. It may be somewhat naive to think that agreement between victim and offender will be achieved. This point is reinforced through mediation initiatives taking place in a climate where there is limited resources available. In addition to this, there may be resistance to the adoption of a process which stresses an informal process in which legal rights are forfeited.

Mediation schemes between victims and offenders have been introduced on a pilot basis in Scotland (Warner 1992). This involves selection of cases deemed suitable by professionals. It is recognised that mediation is more suitable for certain types of crime than for others. However, it may be naive to think that mediation will always result in resolution or agreement. Although people seem interested, willing and agreed to participate, these programmes are time consuming and demanding of resources. These programmes have relied upon local funding and receipt of research grants. Thus mediation initiatives are under threat through involvement in competition with other projects for scarce resources.

1.65 From constructions of public interest to 'victims' interests'

Recent developments suggest concern with 'needs' and the interests of victims in relation to the criminal justice system. This concern may be understood as emerging from concern with the responsibilities of agencies in the criminal justice system. Concern with needs may be understood as being favourable to a scheme proposing rights since the latter would generate considerable administrative and financial costs. Agencies have recognised that victims have information needs as a consequence of involvement in the criminal justice system. The rhetoric of needs casts the victim in a subordinate position. This shift away from rights may be understood not only as a shift towards making the system more responsive to the victim. It may be argued that the system should be more responsive since the interests of the victim constitute part of the 'public interest'. Certainly research supports the view that victims would welcome their interests being taken into account but without responsibility for decision-making (Shapland 1985).

The recent publication of the White paper on Crime and Punishment (1996) devotes an entire chapter to 'Victims'. It makes reference to meeting 'victims needs' through improving victim's experiences in the criminal justice system and summarising initiatives which seek to provide support and assistance to victims of crime. It refers to examining further the information needs of victims and continuing close links with Victim Support and provision of financial support. The key priorities listed for 1996 include a four point action plan to improve information and services for victims which will involve the setting up of a Victims steering group to discuss issues of relevance to the interests of victims and to advise on policy and good practice, a national strategy for provision of information to victims, information leaflets for issue to all victims and a code of practice for statutory and voluntary agencies which deal routinely with victims. Account is taken of notification of victims about the release of the assailant from custody. The white paper proposes to investigate taking account of the 'victims interests' through floating ideas concerning the introduction of victim impact statements in the future. This initiative has already been introduced in England whereby information about the effects of the crime on the victim are collected by the police and presented at court by the prosecutor (Dyer 1996; Travis 1996). These proposals may draw upon experiences south of the border. It is useful to provide a critical evaluation of proposals concerning the introduction of victim impact statements.

Victim impact statements

Conventional models of justice are based upon the assumption that the state has been wronged. Sentencing is concerned with evaluating the seriousness of the crime. It may be argued that to reach an informed decision about the seriousness of an offenders behaviour requires one to hear from the person who has experienced victimisation. A restitutive approach to justice would view the offence as an offence against the victim and the need to restore the victim to their former position. Ashworth (1993) states how there are few working versions of either version with English law striking a compromise between the two. Victims impact statements might enhance the compensatory elements of current models through raising awareness among prosecutors and making courts more aware of the need for compensation and for giving information about harms and losses suffered. Ashworth (1993) highlights some of the problems associated with the introduction of such a scheme. These may be seen to stem from the court evaluating the seriousness of the offence according to the intended or likely (but not the actual) consequences. He suggests that for victim impact statements to be worthwhile the courts would have to be free to pass sentence according to the unforeseen consequences of the offender's behaviour. To some extent, sentencing on the basis of unforeseen consequences is already recognised in relation to dangerous driving with the unforeseen results of reckless driving affecting sentence. By contrast, unforeseen results are not viewed as relevant to penalty in cases of careless driving. In relation to assessments of the gravity of an offence the likely psychological effect may be seen as relevant. This is shown in relation to the sexual offences such as rape[4]. However, as Ashworth notes, to take account of the effects of the crime on the victim raises a number of questions. For example, should an offender receive a harsher sentence as a consequence of his victim suffering abnormally serious effects. Conversely, should an offender receive a lower sentence on the grounds that the victim made a quick recovery. Ashworth (1993) suggests that the victim impact statement would have to provide a factual basis for sentencing. A statement would require to be supported by an experts report. Such a statement would require to be based upon the presence of measurable objective criteria. (see Ashworth 1993; Dyer 1996; Travis 1996). Findings from studies conducted in America suggest that although the practice is supported in theory by prosecutors and judges there is resistance on their part through officials not receiving compensation for their behaviour and generating inconvenience (Henley, Davis and Smith 1994) Although victim input into sentencing decisions remains

[4] For a discussion of these issues see Wilson (1990).

controversial victim input has some beneficial effects for victims and for the criminal justice system. The victim impact statement has been introduced into England earlier this year in which the police provide evidence of loss which is presented by the prosecutor rather than by the victim (Dyer 1996; Travis 1996). While this may be helpful in making the system more responsive to the victims position in relation to decision-making about compensation the situation remains that one is confined to the interpretation of an expert based upon measurable objective criteria with little opportunity for the victim to voice their claims and concerns.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the criminal event has been constructed by agencies in the criminal justice system. It commenced with an examination of a body of literature which focused upon the central role of the victim in pre-modern criminal justice systems. This literature demonstrated how the victim occupied a central decision-making role in relation to compensation and prosecution. The chapter showed how with the emergence of the state and the development of the modern criminal justice system where concern was with the interests of the offender resulted in the exclusion of the victim. The role of the victim as an outsider to the criminal process was shown in relation to empirical studies which demonstrated how the victim was constructed by the police, prosecutor and in relation to experience at court. This gave emphasis to processes of selection and organisation. Further, this literature demonstrated how the system is concerned with evaluation of seriousness which may conflict with seriousness as defined by victims. Supporting evidence concerning the victim as an outsider to a system which is unresponsive to their interests was supported by empirical evidence concerning the victim's experience of the criminal justice system. The chapter concluded with a critical examination of initiatives
which are indicative of a system more responsive to victims through
concern with restitution, mediation and victim impact statements. The following chapter provides a more detailed account of agency responses to the criminal event and how initiatives may be considered unresponsive to the claims, concerns and issues of victims chiefly because they are constructed by agencies and take little account of the views of victims themselves. In short, this chapter will show how agency constructions neglect the constructions of victims.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTRUCTING THE EXPERIENCE OF CRIME II: THE STATE, AGENCY AND MEDIA RESPONSES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines agency responses to experiences of crime. It seeks to show how victims have been constructed by various agencies including the state, Victim Support and the media. A central concern of this analysis will be with processes of construction. In this regard, the work of Rock (1990; 1995) will be drawn upon extensively since his analyses give emphasis to various committees and the different influences upon these and thus how policy making about victims is better understood as a dialectical and reflexive process before becoming an objective component in the criminal justice system. Attention will also be directed towards the processes of construction present in the mass media through concern with selection and presentation of information by officials and agencies in relation to policy making and the media.

The chapter commences with an examination of official beliefs about crime since this may be seen to influence choice and support for policies and subsequent processes of construction. The chapter shows how the policy initiative such as criminal injuries compensation had it's origins in penal reformers and how this financial solution was limited. The chapter proceeds to show how the growth of victim support and concern with victims needs may be understood in the light of these perceived inadequacies. However, claims to meet 'victims needs' were based upon little evidence. In addition to concern with the nature of the service the chapter shows how the rapid expansion of victim services in the voluntary sector lead to a funding crisis and for financial assistance to be sought from the state. The chapter shows how official preoccupations were with the 'penal crisis' and strain within the criminal justice system rather than with the problem of victims and how although there was some research concerning victims, official concern was with initiatives including reparation and mediation rather than with victim services. The chapter shows how Victim Support, although a stranger influenced the policy making process through involvement on committees and lobbying. Finally, state funding was forthcoming. This may be viewed as more to do with the impending theft of the victim issue by Labour. The Conservative party may be viewed as having colonised the victim issue through the politics of law and order. The chapter explores the consequences of state funding upon the nature of

victim services before critically examining whether the concept of needs or rights provides a better basis for provision of victim services. The chapter proceeds to examine the role of the media. Here, processes of construction are given emphasis through concern with selection and presentation of information due to concern with criteria of 'news worthiness'. This will be followed by a consideration of news sources before looking at the powerful role of the media in relation to the construction of victims. The chapter shows how the victim's relationship with the media has been overlooked not only as a source but also in relation to the consequences of media constructions for public and victims understanding of the experience of crime. The relationship between the victim and the media is complex and demanding of further attention. The chapter shows how the constructions of agencies and the media obscure the accounts of the victim.

2.2 Official constructions of crime - from the Right and the Left

Phipps (1988) shows how crime has been viewed by the Conservative party as a threat to traditional values and the social order. Increasing crime rates were viewed as a consequence of the decreased costs of illegal activities leading to a decline in arrest rates and less than proportionate increase in penalties and convictions. The victim may be understood as a symbol of an injured order. Political discourse about victims and their suffering functions to stimulate hostility against the offender or criticise the criminal justice system on the grounds of a tendency towards leniency. Within this view there is support for deterrence and punishment. Crime is viewed as a threat to order and the rule of law. Under this approach crime is removed from its context and not seen as a product of inequality and disadvantage. The injuries sustained by victims are seen as resulting from the action or neglect of the individual victim. The responsibility for crime lies with the individual rather than the state. Thus compensation and victim services are the responsibility of the individual victim and voluntary organisations.

By contrast, it has only been since the 1980's that the Labour party have developed a policy on crime. It has been suggested that this may be attributed to left realism which provided the left with a theoretical position on crime. The Labour party view crime as a problem of social structure. Crime is viewed as a product of capitalist society which results in disordered relationships. The role of the state is viewed as concerned with the defence and maintenance of capitalist interests. The Labour party are of the view that the phenomenon of crime is exaggerated and used as a tool by the

right to distract attention way from problems associated with the social structure. It is only since the impact of left realism that the Labour party have been vocal about the impact of crime and its effects upon communities and the quality of life. This change of policy may to some extent be understood as connected to the law and order approach of the Conservative party and the proliferation of marketing and media strategies to encourage support. Further contributions arose from the left realist perspective in criminology which drew upon the findings from the criminal victimisation surveys. Here, it was recognised that people living in inner cities and working class areas were more vulnerable than had been recognised through the national criminal victimisation surveys. Correspondingly, many of the policies of the left have been concerned with the policing of vulnerable sections of the population and with multi-agency crime prevention initiatives. The Labour party embrace beliefs that problems concerning victimisation and the fear of crime are social problems to be addressed through government policy. Consistent with this view, the Labour party are of the view that victim services should receive adequate funding rather than be left to the caprice of the free market, individuals or voluntary bodies.

2.3 State Constructions, criminal injuries compensation - 'deserving' and 'undeserving' victims

An interesting point to note is the way in which initiatives for victims of crime have largely had their origins in penal reform. For example, Margery Fry campaigned tirelessly for compensation for victims. At this time there was no victim organisation to apply pressure for change. In the main, initiatives were conceived by 'outsiders' using victims as their tools. Financial compensation was one of these solutions which was devised for victims. This involved a considerable number of committees before it was accepted. Reluctance to provide state compensation may be understood in terms of the view that the individual victims was held to be responsible for his or her actions rather than the state. However, the argument for compensation was based upon the claim that the state had a duty to protect it's citizens from violence. However, it would be unreasonable to expect the Government to prevent all 'violent crime'. Mawby and Gill (1987: 42) note how various anomalies were highlighted by the committee including the victim's common law right to bring actions for damages being useless given the low detection rate and the poverty of offenders. Further anomalies were recognised insofar as while there was welfare provision for victims of accidents there was no provision for victims of crime. The state was seen to agree to meet the needs of certain victims without accepting responsibility. Further, the

committee made a distinction between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' victims based upon classification of the characteristics and behaviour of the victim. The latter category consisted of those persons who had failed to report crimes to the police, those who provoked the crime and those persons who had a relationship with the offender. A consequence of all this was that a white paper proposed an experimental and non statutory scheme. The Government did not accept that the state is liable for injuries caused to people caused by the acts of others. The criminal injuries scheme has been subject to critical scrutiny (Miers 1978). The operation of the scheme has been monitored through concern with the views of victims (Shapland 1985; Shapland 1984; Shapland, Willmore and Duff 1985). More recently, the scheme has been modified with minimum awards being raised. This has operated to prevent some victims from being eligible to receive compensation. The criminal injuries compensation scheme became a statutory body under the 1988 Criminal Justice Act. Under this statute victims have a right to compensation. Thus the Government have acknowledged some responsibility for violent crime. While victims have a right to compensation this is limited to what the scheme defines as 'violent crime' and limited further to those persons defined as 'deserving' and 'undeserving' of compensation. In addition to this the financial limits may limit compensation to a few victims and thus there may be unmet needs.

Beyond the criminal injuries compensation scheme, penal reformers introduced compensation on a wider basis to benefit offenders and victims. In Scotland, since 1980, compensation orders criminal courts have the power to order compensation to be paid by the offender to the victim. It was thought that offenders should not profit from their crime and that reparation was an element of punishment. The major limitations of this approach concern the fact that most offenders fail to be apprehended and even if they were, they were frequently unable to compensate their victim. Since there was no statutory requirement, compensation was seldom utilised. Further, the victim was often unaware of the possibility of this form of compensation. The issue of compensation is seldom mentioned in court and as the victim does not have a role in making a claim their losses are not presented before the court (Shapland, Willmore and Duff 1985). The major difficulties concerning the employment of this approach arose from lack of clear guidance on the role of compensation of the victim in the justice system. Legislation made the compensation order a sentence in it's own right. In circumstances where the offender has inadequate financial means to pay compensation and a fine the former will take priority. However, the problem remains that an emphasis on financial compensation may limit

other forms of compensation to the victim. People who are in receipt of welfare benefits may be limited in their ability to receive criminal injuries compensation.

2.4 Considerations of welfare and unmet needs

Thus the development of victim services in the voluntary sector may be understood as occurring in the context of financial solutions which would meet only the needs of a few victims. The development of victim services in the United Kingdom had its origins in initiatives for offenders. In Bristol a group was set up which included the representatives of various agencies and this resulted in a pilot scheme. Here, it was the view that there should be an independent organisation complementary to statutory agencies. The scheme would have the support of a full-time co-ordinator and service provision would rely upon trained volunteers. This scheme was successful but insufficient funding led to the temporary abandonment of services. The work of the scheme was featured in a television programme resulting in the setting up of a conference combined to initiate a number of schemes which were co-ordinated at a national level with administrative support coming from National Association of Care and Resettlement of Offenders. A national committee was set up and the National Association of Victims Support Schemes was formed. A number of schemes were set up and by 1980 the service was dealing with 14,000 referrals. The schemes doubled in size and referrals rose. However, the fact remained that only a small proportion of victims were referred to victims support schemes.

Maguire and Corbett (1987) provide a comprehensive overview of the work of victims support schemes. Most victim support schemes are affiliated to the National Association of Victim Support Schemes. Each scheme has it's own management committee comprising a panel of 'experts' from the community who can give professional or practical advice. The daily operation of the scheme is dealt with by a co-ordinator who is employed on a full or a part-time basis. Service provision relies upon trained volunteers and so recruitment of volunteers can be a problem for individual schemes. Each scheme relies upon referral of clients from the police. Many schemes operate an automatic referral policy. Help is of a short term nature and the main focus of help is with victims of conventional types of crime. However, service is expanding to deal with more serious crime. This may involve more specialised training and assistance of a more long term nature.

The Victim Support organisation is viewed as complimentary to existing statutory services. The success of these schemes relies to some extent upon the development of good relations with the police since it is the police who are their main source of referrals. The continued expansion of the organisation has lead to schemes becoming more reliant upon central and local Government funding. The Government while supportive of the service have been careful about their financial involvement. However, it may be argued that the Victim Support organisation has been perceived less as a threat or outsider by officials through care being taken to avoid any controversy in seeking acceptance by officials. For example, Victim Support has avoided commenting about issues connected with sentencing and the politics of the right. However, the continued expansion of schemes and lack of Government funding has contributed to the experience of hardship on the part of schemes. It has been of vital importance for Victim Support to develop good relations with official insiders such as the Home Office with a view to gaining support and help with securing state funding. Rock (1990:335) provides an illuminating account of the 'courtship' between NAVSS and the Home Office and how this relationship was 'consummated' through state funding.

2.5 Constructions of the Home Office: the penal crisis, reparation and mediation

Rock (1990) notes how The Home Office has had various policy preoccupations. The major preoccupations have been concerned with rising crime rates and the increasing strain put upon criminal agencies. In addition to this, the prison population increased to the extent that a 'penal crisis' seemed imminent. These circumstances contributed to concerns about public confidence in the criminal justice system and thus a major concern was with improving public confidence in the criminal justice system. This was sought by investing resources on the police and the prisons. Several efforts were made to improve the efficiency of the existing criminal justice system. There was considerable public concern about the problem of crime. Thus a major concern of the Home Office was with redefining the crime problem. This was tackled using the criminal victimisation surveys which demonstrated the risks of crime to be low and that the fear of crime could be attributed to a misunderstanding of statistical information by the public. As Rock (1990) notes considerable efforts were directed towards re-educating the public. Further efforts to redefine the crime problem were provided by crime prevention and community initiatives. Emphasis was given to community policing and interagency co-operation and other initiatives such as Neighbourhood Watch. These initiatives were subject to criticism on the grounds that

they may be viewed as extending the net of social control. A recognition that the problem of crime was too great for formal agencies to manage resulted in a shift of control on to the community. These initiatives which gave emphasis to the prison crisis, law and order and concern with increasing public confidence were used to produce a number of initiatives about victims and their 'needs'.

As Rock (1990) notes victims were not defined initially as a problem but emerged through strategies which dealt with problems within the penal and legal system. As Rock notes, victims were 'fragmented' but would in time become a 'distinct problem' or 'bundle'. Victims as a 'problem' emerged through criminal injuries compensation and in relation to compensation by the offender and reparation.

The preoccupation of the Home Office centred upon the rising prison population. These concerns were reflected in support for reparation and mediation initiatives. At this time research concern was with the counting of crimes rather than the 'needs' of victims. However, it has to be said that there was some research which sought to contrbute to understanding victims. One of these studies concerned an account of victim support schemes in it's early stages (Williams 1983). This research provided an outline of the work of victims support schemes and included a brief history and reference to the growth and distribution of schemes and referral processes. This research recognised that these services were weakened by lack of finance and resources. In addition to this research was the work conducted by Shapland (1985) concerning victims' experiences in the criminal justice system. This study showed how victims were fairly satisfied with the criminal justice system but how this declined over time. The major concern here was with lack of information as the case proceeded. Very often victims felt forgotten in the criminal justice system as if they were non persons. Here, victims expressed a desire for some form of help such as information and financial help. However, it was clear that victims did not wish more active participation and responsibility for decision-making about sentencing. Rather victims would have liked to have been consulted, informed and helped. Even although only a few of respondents had heard of victim support schemes over a third of respondents said they would have welcomed support of this kind. The research showed that the concerns of victims went beyond financial compensation. A major finding of this research related to a lack of communication to the victim about their case. This research was used as a source of evidence in relation to the Home Affairs Select Committee in 1984. A further piece of research commissioned by the Home Office examined the work of victim support schemes (Maguire and Corbett 1987).

Maguire had already conducted research which examined the impact of burglary (Maguire 1982). This research revealed appreciation of victims concerning the work of victims support. The authors showed how crime surveys were concerned with counting crime rather than with helping victims. It showed how the surveys through counting victims could contribute to knowledge about victims. However, a second survey which focused upon the impact of crime found that few victims received assistance from victim support although there seemed support for the work of these schemes. As Rock (1990) notes, Home Office research was 'fragmented' throughout the various divisions of the Home Office. The problems of the prisons, police and prosecution obscured policy making about victims of crime. However, in due course the victim would become recognised as a separate and distinctive 'problem' requiring policy.

2.6 The role of resources in the construction of future victim services

While the overriding concern was with the penal crisis and victim support groups were experiencing funding problems Rock (1990) notes how victim support cultivated the support of officials and thus encouraged the victim to be defined as a problem and for funding to be forthcoming. First, the relationship between the Home Office and Victim Support was characterised by one in which the Home Office would consult Victim Support on matters about the victim in the criminal justice system. Beyond this, NAVSS negotiated with the Home Office about funding. The funding of local schemes was viewed as a problem as local funding by the state may undermine the independence of the organisation. Interest in victim support remained marginal being overshadowed by reparation. It must also be said that the Government was also concerned about the financial cost of supporting victim support schemes. The Government while supportive of the of Victim Support was cautious to avoid any major financial commitment. A crisis of resources resulted in Victim Support using all its' influence on the Government to provide funding.

In the meantime, at the Home Office there were some officials thinking about mediation and reparation and others thinking about victims support and while some officials were thinking about victim support the politicians were thinking about reparation. Although there was support for victim support there was concern about the costs involved. Decisions about funding victim support would rely upon an evaluation of the service and, in particular, the evaluation of the service conducted by Maguire and Corbett (1987). As Rock (1990) notes the major concern was with

reparation and this was reflected in the Home Office Package and the publication of a working paper which was designed to circulate problems and strategies, in particular, those concerned with the prison crisis. The content of the document reflected those concerns but reference was also made to concerns about public confidence in the criminal justice system and victims and victim support schemes. The policies for victims included compensation and reparation. It was suggested that giving greater attention to victims would increase public confidence in the criminal justice system. However, most of the document was devoted to the policy of reparation.

2.7 Constructions of politicians, committees and influences - towards new constructions

An interesting development came about when the director of the organisation Victim Support which was regarded as an organisational outsider to officials was invited to participate in the All Party Penal Affairs Group. The major concern of this group was penal reform. The working of this group as with other committees demonstrates how outsiders can influence group discussions and policy making through bringing information from outside the group to inform and influence subsequent decision-making. Rock (1995) recognises the central importance of committees in decisions making in which a dialectic involving reflexivity is nursed and transformed into the form of a policy, an objective component of the criminal justice system. The influence of Helen Reeves, the director of Victim Support upon the group is of particular note. She included an amendment to the agenda about balancing recommendations about the treatment of offenders with proposals to help victims. Consequently, the group considered provisions for victims, criminal injuries compensation, compensation orders and victim support schemes. Evidence was accepted by the group that victim support schemes were endangered by inadequate funding and that schemes should be adequately funded. The group circulated a draft of the report A New Deal for Victims which reflected overriding concern with the penal crisis. However, as Rock (1990) indicates, Helen Reeves made a number of amendments which shifted attention from reparation to the issue of victim support. The published report stated how a concentration on the offender had brought about a neglect of the victim and that this required to be addressed through reparation. Much of the report was concerned with reparation and how reparation and compensation should be the
main response when an offender was apprehended although it was recognised that such initiatives were problematic in the event of failure to apprehend
the perpetrator. Reeves included an amendment that victim support schemes could

benefit victims generally. Additionally, reference was made to the inadequate funding and evidence of finances and that the future of schemes were threatened through a lack of resources. The working party endorsed central government funding. As Rock (1990) notes there followed a long exchange of letters and the funding crisis grew.

The Home Affairs Select Committee

The role of select committees is to examine the use of public money. The politicians on this committee decided to look at the topic of victims. This decision was timely in that the report, 'A New Deal for Victims' was on the verge of publication and would function to elevate the public profile of victims. The committee directed itself towards the work of the Home Office. Rather than focus upon criminal injuries compensation, Rock (1990) notes how this committee inverted the priority list of the officials through looking at compensation and victim support followed by reparation if time allowed. The group drew on evidence from various sources including the Home Office and Shapland's evidence of dissatisfaction of victims in the criminal justice system. The Home Office claimed that the Government was doing all it could for victims within the limits of available resources. Already the Government was providing £33 million pounds to fund the criminal injuries compensation scheme. While reference was made to compensation and reparation little reference was made to victim support. Further evidence was provided by various organisations including the National Association of Victims Support Schemes which gave a historical account of the work of victim support and the number of victims helped each year. Reference was made to the recommendation made in A New Deal for Victims that central government funding should be available for schemes. Evidence was given by the Metropolitan police and ACPO who were supportive of the service. Home Office witnesses were examined. The Home Office witnesses were of the view that local funding would be expensive. The final report Compensation and Support for Victims of Crime was published in December 1984. References were made to inconsistencies of the part of the Home Office since it was supportive of the service but did not guarantee resources in the long term. The Director of Victim Support encouraged people to lobby their M.P. This lobbying approach was thought to be more effective than a campaign which might provoke controversy and negative publicity. The Government replied to the Committee stating that it would reconsider the financial needs of some schemes and provide some funding to national association. Upon publication of the White paper Reeves negotiated directly with the Home Office. NAVSS continued to campaign for funding. There were parliamentary questions on

local funding. The Home Office response remained the same, that there could be no new money for local schemes until after an evaluation of Home Office expenditure. Home Office resistance to funding may be explained by the prevailing belief of the Home Office that state funding of voluntary organisations was inappropriate and that widespread funding was to be avoided (Rock 1990).

In the meantime the Scottish Association of victim support schemes was established and a new Home Secretary took office. The Home Office felt that victim support was the financial responsibility of local committees. As promised funding proposals were reviewed with a view to funding some local schemes. Officials began looking for reason to justify funding. Officials seemed to be responding to events as they occurred. Officials sought arguments for funding and in so doing reconstructed events to form a persuasive narrative. At this point, a number of schemes were experiencing financial difficulties. The future of some schemes were threatened further by the break up of the Metropolitan Councils. Urban aid funding and grants from the Manpower service commission were becoming increasingly scarce. This state of affairs stimulated further lobbying by Helen Reeves.

2.8 Construction and colonisation of the victim issue

At this time the Labour party had begun to show interest in the work of victim support through the rediscovery of the victim as a consequence of the British Crime Survey and left realism. Statements were made by Labour concerning it's preparedness to fund victim support schemes. Mr Gerald Kaufman, the Shadow Secretary stated that the Labour party would ensure that every area had a victim support scheme and called for properly funded government support. Rock (1990) notes how it may be difficult to know with any degree of certainty whether it was these statements which influenced the Government to decide fund victim support through for fear of theft of the victim issue by the Labour party. At about the same time Maguire and Corbett's evaluation (1987) of victims support was on the verge of publication. This research drew attention to how many of the needs of victims were unmet and, more generally, was supportive of the work of victims support schemes. As Rock (1990) notes reparation was no longer a significant item in the victim package and the Home Office developed proposals for local funding in 1986 to compensate for withdrawal of support by the Department of Health and Social Security. In October 1986 the Home Office decided to spend nine million pounds on victim support schemes over three years. While local funding may be an expensive

commitment this funding would register Government concern and help victims cope with the experience of crime. State funding of this voluntary organisation might also be viewed as part of increasing 'net widening' forms of social control. It is important to consider the consequences of state funding not only in relation to issues concerning independence but in relation to service delivery and management.

2.9 Future construction of victim services, state influence and professional response

The Government 's decision to provide funds represents a concession that the state has a duty towards supporting victims of crime. However, there is no acceptance that victims have a right to assistance or that any state agency has a duty to help them. Beyond concerns about organisational independence, Corbett and Maguire (1988) recognise that increased funding may have profound implications for the nature and work of victim support. They suggest that salaried posts may operate to attract more qualified people to schemes and that this may be accompanied by a trend towards professionalism in terms of more effective management, increased supervision of volunteers, record keeping and interest in defining objectives and evaluation of work. Schemes may become more similar through adherence to codes of practice. By accepting public funds schemes will have to account for how they spend this money. Thus the Government may influence NAVSS policy through control of finance. State funding may also give Victim Support a monopoly in the field of victim services. Consequently, Victim Support may have a higher profile in the media. Further, the police may be more likely to make referrals and more victims may become aware of the service putting an increasing burden on an already stretched service. One of weaknesses apart from the threat to the independence of the organisation might be the way in which the police might see Victim Support as the only organisation dealing with victims resulting in the neglect and of other organisations including Rape Crisis which may suffer through a lack of funding.

Other limitations on the service relate to the ability to offer an outreach service. Maguire and Corbett (1988) note that many home visits result in wasted journeys. One also has to consider the amount of time volunteers can provide. It may be argued that victims needs may be addressed more effectively by a statutory service and that a rights based approach may be more appropriate. The limited resources available may limit the service from expanding further to deal with more referrals. Although the Government have contributed to funding there remains an expectation that funds

will be raised on a local basis. There remain unequal distribution of services throughout the country. In circumstances where there are considerable referrals priorities will require to be established and thus processes of selection will be highlighted. In this respect there may be a tendency to deal with conventional crimes. With professionalism and more comprehensive training there may be a trend towards longer-term support to victims. This may involve increased professional input and volunteers with special skills. The organisation may be viewed as limited in terms of it's capacity to campaign through lobbying and it's emphasis upon a needs based approach. The organisation is oriented to helping victims rather than campaigning to introduce rights. This stance may limit opportunities for receipt of further Government funding. While the organisation has avoided involvement in controversial areas such as sentencing it may require to address the issue of the rights of victims. For example, the increased participation of victims in the criminal justice system. So far, efforts to encourage change have come about as a consequence of lobbying rather than campaigning. This approach may require to be reviewed. However, dependence upon Government funding may compromise the negotiating capacity of Victim Support.

2.10 Conceptual constructions of needs and rights

Responses to the problem of victimisation have been framed principally in terms of 'needs'. This may be attributed to the welfarist origins of victim services in the U.K. (Mawby and Gill 1987). A major difficulty of this approach has been with the way in which agencies and professionals have made assumptions about the needs of the victim. It must be said that many victim initiatives have been developed with little or no consultation of the persons who have direct experience of victimisation. To some extent, Victim Support service may be accused of making assumptions about the needs of victims in the past when they claimed that the needs of victims were unmet by the state. These claims were made on the basis of little or no evidence. Since then, there has been some research which has sought to establish what 'victim needs' might be (Maguire and Corbett 1987). For example recent research recognises the importance of information needs (MVA consultancy 1995). The appeal to 'needs' is to be understood as a powerful device and one which is problematic for a number of reasons. Shapland et al (1985) recognises that the concept of 'needs' may be problematic in relation to service provision. Whether needs exist or not depends upon the definition employed and the definer. Questions are raised as to whose definition should be accepted. Should one accept the definition of experts, those of individuals

or should it be based upon some general consensus. The needs of the individual may be regarded as having emotive appeal and are therefore persuasive. However, whether victims needs can be identified merely by asking victims what problems they have experienced as a consequence of their experience of crime may be viewed as problematic. Individuals may overstate or understate their problems or their needs. Therefore 'victims needs' may be viewed as highly flexible and subject to revision (Maguire and Corbett 1987: 47-49). Self definitions of needs may be based upon what "one ought to need" (Shapland 1984). By overstating the needs of some victims, the needs of other victims may be ignored. Beyond these problems associated with relying upon victims definitions of needs one may turn to 'experts' for definitions of need. This, however, may be viewed as just as problematic since these definitions are of a highly subjective nature. While Shapland is critical of victims' definitions of need she is even more critical of the financial orientation of the criminal injuries compensation scheme for paying little attention to victims 'expressed needs'. A further problem relates to the fact that individual or societal definitions of needs may be at variance with the findings of victimisation research which views victims as not particularly seriously affected by the experience of crime. For example Maguire (1980) found that most burglary victims defined themselves as angry upon experience of the criminal event. Thus the needs of victims are not easily defined.

Similar questions of definition are raised in relation to the issue of rights. Thinking in terms of 'rights' may be understood as stemming from initiatives which sought to make the offender more responsible to the victim and the victim more responsible for crime prevention (Miers 1992). The publication of the Victim's Charter may be understood as one such initiative which laid down agency responsibilities about practice. As such, the Victim's Charter gave rise to the rhetoric of victim rights although victims rights have been in existence in North American state for over ten years. These systems favour a more active role of the victim in relation to decision-making in the criminal justice system. Closer examination of the Victim's Charter reveals that it is little more than a statement of current agency practice and confers little in the way of legally enforceable rights. In providing for redress of complaints the Victim's Charter puts the victim in a subservient role as a recipient of services (Miers 1992). Mawby (1988) weighs the value of service provision based upon a system of needs with one concerning rights and shows how a system based upon rights would overcome a system of needs where only the needs of the most vocal victims would be met. However, a system of rights may encourage more active

decision-making on the part of the victim in the criminal justice system and this may contribute to problems of a structural nature and increased strain on an already overburdened system. These proposals may also generate considerable administrative and financial costs. Research indicates that while victims want to be consulted and informed they do not want more responsibility for decision-making (Shapland 1985).

2.11 The construction of victims - visible and hidden dangers

Having documented the development of widespread interest and support for victims of crime in the United Kingdom, Fattah (1986) encourages one to consider some of the visible and hidden dangers of victims movements. He draws attention to the way in which addressing victims needs has already been closely associated with the 'law and order' approach of the right and how the victim movement may be seen as part of a backlash against criminals. It may also be argued that to some extent victims services have been associated with controlling crime rather than with meeting victims needs. There is some evidence to suggest that victims of crime are used for political purposes as a vehicle that serves the interests of opportunistic politicians and criminal justice practitioners (Elias 1993). For example, interest in victims was in large part generated from a concern to address other problems relating to the penal system or criminal justice system (Rock 1990). Claims to meet victims needs were designed with little regard for victims expressed needs. They may be seen a drawing attention to the dangers and consequences of victimisation by highlighting the plight of those victimised. It may operate to emphasise conflict and widen the gap between victim and offender rather than bringing them together. Efforts to meet the needs of victim may also contribute to stereotyping. This tendency might be avoided through an emphasis on the right of the victim rather than the plight of the victim. The victims movement may encourage increased dependency on social services. Little is known about the effects of crime and there remains a need to encourage greater understanding about the emotional effects of victimisation. It may also be suggested that intervention may delay the recovery process. The victim movement may encourage increased expectations about victim services. While it is important to respond to and initiate change in relation to helping victims these proposals will require to research the problem from the perspective of the victim.

2.12 Media constructions of victims

This section demonstrates how the victim of crime is constructed by the media and how this is may seem insensitive to the event as experienced by the victim of crime. The media may be seen to play an important role in how the public perceive and construct their social world. It is the media who inform the public about the problem of crime. Media coverage is not confined to interest in the criminal as the victim may provide the necessary element of human interest. The media may be seen to construct the experience of crime through an emphasis upon processes of selection and concern with news worthiness and presentation processes. The victims experience of crime is distorted further through reliance upon official perspectives, the sensationalising tendency of journalism combined with superficial coverage and concern with entertainment and building audiences. Media constructions have may be seen to have several implications particularly in relation to the generation of fear and influence upon public opinion. The distorted picture of crime may be viewed as promoting social control. Beyond concern with profit the media may be seen to promote certain beliefs about crime and shape public opinion since the media has a stake in maintaining the current social order. Thus the concerns of the media may operate over and above public interest with only certain officially recognised victims receiving attention in a highly political process.

2.13 Constructing 'newsworthy' victims

The media play an important role in the perception and construction of our social world. The media do not provide the 'facts' of a process. The media provide a distorted picture of reality. This is highlighted by a study which revealed biases in media coverage concerning crimes of a violent and sexual nature (Ditton and Duffy 1983). Information which is selected and presented to the public is influenced by the notion of 'news worthiness'. Rather than provide a reflection of the social world "newspapers select events which are atypical, present them in a stereotypical fashion and contrast them a backcloth of normality which is over typical" (Young 1974: 241). The criminal is constructed as a threat to society. The media seem to be involved in the continued search for the new, unusual and dramatic and this constitutes 'news'. Chibnall (1977: 77) notes the presence of informal rules which govern the professional imperatives of journalism. These include visible and spectacular acts, sexual or political connotations, graphic presentation, individual pathology, deterrence and repression. News values are structured around these

themes. Therefore media coverage is not a reflection of real or actual events because it involves processes of selection and presentation.

2.14 Official source constructions

The media do not have direct access to the media and therefore rely upon news sources for information about crime. The relationship between new sources and the media has been understood using the concept of 'primary definition' (Hall et al 1978). According to this concept, access to the media is granted to social groups with institutional power. These sources provide the primary definitions of topics which provide the initial interpretation upon which all subsequent debate takes place. These definitions frequently rely upon police and Home Office statistics. These definitions may be viewed as partial and reflect institutional concerns. As such they provide a selective version of the problem which is exacerbated by news values and news presentation upon which public opinion is based. Thus, they have profound implications for public knowledge.

Recent analyses of the media recognise that the concept of 'primary definition' fails to take account of competition between official sources in influencing the construction of a story (Schlesinger and Tumber 1994). Further, it does not explain whether it is possible to have more than one definer nor does it explain inequalities of access among official sources. In addition, the concept views the media as a passive recipient of information from news sources when it is not uncommon for the media to challenge primary definitions. The concept of primary definition neglects the key role occupied by the media. It is the media who possess key resources and who may deny access, give negative coverage and who therefore exercise discretion over the way in which an event is represented (Schlesinger and Tumber 1994).

2.15 Construction, competition and negotiation among sources

In relation to competition for access to scarce time and space in the media it is of importance to note the adoption of media strategies by official sources. This is highlighted by the Thatcher campaigns from 1979 onwards and New Labour's orientation towards publicity and the media. This tendency is shared not only by political parties, and more recently the police, but non official groups including Victim Support. Thus it has been necessary for Victim Support to make decisions

about the kind of publicity and public relations they want and this has not been an easy task.

> Some of our key funders introduced us to a public relations consultant because they thought we should be promoting ourselves much more. All of those people, people in PR and money, advised us that we should not be putting all our eggs in one basket getting public money. We should be going out to the public and private industry, and so on, and that we should be playing our two trump cards. These are: 'Look at these poor fragile old victims.' And we were saying victims are anybody, there is nothing poor, tragic or pathetic about being a victim, it can happen to anyone of us. It is quite different philosophy. The other one was: 'Look how much money is spent on crooks in comparison.' We did not think this was particularly helpful either. It would have polarised the criminal justice issues and that was not what we were after. It would have been very destructive to us. (Reeves cited in Schlesinger and Tumber 1994: 87-88).

> if we played our cards properly, people would identify with victims of crime. You tap into the fear, you ought to play up children being abused and old people being abused because that would make people put their hands in their pockets. (Reeves cited in Schlesinger and Tumber 1994: 88).

Decisions about publicity required careful thought because the philosophy of the organisation was oriented towards reducing the effects of crime rather than increasing the effects of crime which might function to decrease support for the organisation and it's work.

2.16 The influence of unofficial sources on official constructions

The concept of 'primary definition' is undermined further through the supply of 'information subsidies' by unofficial organisations to official sources which may involve prior process of struggle or negotiation over definitions (Schlesinger and Tumber 1994). A fine example of this is provided by Helen Reeves in her successful lobby of the Parliamentary All Party Penal Affairs Group. She supplied the group with information for a report to be published by the group on victims of crime and their needs.

The media may contact pressure groups to provide 'bodies' for their programmes. A common request is for victims of violent crime. Media pressure can be considerable

and their overriding concern with bodies may render them insensitive to understanding the protective attitudes of the pressure group.

> We want to run a series on battered old ladies, mugging of ladies. Would you be able to produce a new case for us every day and you would get lots of publicity out of it yourself? We would give the line, 'well, actually, of course, that is not a typical crime. It causes alarm and stresses lots of other old ladies unnecessarily.' They would say: that's all very interesting and very responsible of you - but it is not what our readers want to read.' That is an actual quote -the journalist actually said that (cited in Schlesinger and Tumber 1994: 100).

The victim as a source

The victim as a source has been given little attention in the literature. However, there has been acknowledgement of the victim as a source if they are framed institutionally, for example as a witness (Ericson, Baranek and Chan 1989). It is only relatively recently that the literature has acknowledged the victim as a source through providing the necessary 'personal interest' in relation to news stories (Chermak 1995). While there exists a small literature concerned with the distressing nature media construction upon victims there is little literature which critically examines the relationship between the victim and the media particularly in relation to the contractual relationship between the victim and the news organisation in relation to the buying and selling of stories and how this might operate to compromise the position of the victim were they to seek damages for distress caused as a consequence of media constructions.

2.17 The construction of moral panics and scapegoats

Although the media may rely upon initial definition by a source the media may take a more active role in the creation of a concern as the basis for stimulating the public into a 'moral panic' or for influencing the public into influencing policy decisions. Law and order has been one of the most debated and dramatised social problems. The visibility of this problem has resulted in politicians placing themselves with the 'law and order' approach to improve their chances of being elected. Audiences can be increased through promoting the belief that law and order are breaking down. Sensationalism may amplify the phenomenon giving the impression that something is more common than it actually is. In turn, this may encourage more and more examples of the problem to be found. This functions to increase sales of newspapers

and generate increased concerns about crime. The first empirical example of media amplification was research by Cohen (1980) concerning the Mods and Rockers panic of 1964. Here, initial definition by the police was followed by media coverage leading to increased social control. More arrests validated the initial panic. By emphasising the differences between the two groups more clashes occurred. This resulted in more coverage, more police activity and more moral panics. The identification of deviant groups functioned to amplify their deviance. Thus the media may be seen to construct social problems through creating concern about particular types of deviancy. Rather than reporting the 'facts' the media are involved in the definition of reality. It is also worthy of note that in circumstances where conventional values are threatened public concern is resolved through the identification of 'scapegoats' or 'folk devils'. This functions to divert attention away from the real social problems. Cohen's work was developed by Hall et al (1978). His work concerning the mugging phenomenon showed how reaction to the panic about black youth lead to the maintenance of law and order through coercion and the exercise of authority[1].

The 'moral panic' thesis provides one explanation as to why victims of crime come to be defined as a social problem. The initial reaction may arise from the publication of so called objective evidence such as Home Office statistics or crime surveys. These definitions are far from objective and represent a particular standpoint. Thus public concern may be generated and the climate created for the victim to be defined as a social problem.

Emphasis upon an objective reality evidenced by statistics may be seen to give way to a constructionist approach (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994). It may be claimed that for anything to be defined as a moral panic it must satisfy that the reaction is disproportionate to the level of threat. This may be considered problematic since it is not possible to establish objective measures or indeed to calculate harm. Statements made by scientists and experts are never definitive or final. It is impossible to know anything with absolute certainty. Thus the statements of experts are to be viewed as constructions representing a particular point of view. A similar shift in concern from objective measures of threat to subjective experience is to be noted in relation to left realist analysis. Rather than taking the view that concerns about fear of crime are

[1] For further examples of moral panics see Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994).

without foundation, Young (1987) recognises that the fear of crime is a matter to be taken seriously since these concerns are grounded in human experience.

Alternatively, defining the victim as a problem may be understood as functional to society in defining the victim as a problem it diverts attention away from the real problem concerning rising crime rates. Similarly, blaming victims for failing to protect their property may fulfil a similar function (Sharp 1993). These examples demonstrate the ways in which the victim may be involved in a scapegoating process (Douglas 1995).

The media may be seen to rely upon official sources for information about crime in the form of criminal statistics. However, other agencies may compete to have their definitions put across. However, it is the media who control access to resources. It is the media who decide upon which events are newsworthy. The media may give preferred access to some sources over others and this may be a function of their political beliefs. It is the media who decide upon how a story is constructed. Thus the media occupy a powerful position in relation to the construction of stories about crime.

2.18 Media construction, exaggeration and the suffering victim

Attention should be devoted to the sensationalist tendency of the news and how this influences portrayal of victims in the media. Crime provides the essential ingredients of drama. This involves the oversimplification of reality. It provides the basis for the construction of a 'morality tale' in which the forces of good are waged against evil (Sparks 1992). The effects of the crime on the victim may be understated or subject to exaggeration (Karmen 1990: 22). The victim may receive little attention if a better story may be constructed about the criminal. In such circumstances the suffering of the victim may be downplayed. The victim may be reduced to a minor character overshadowed by an evil central figure. Alternatively, the suffering of the victim and their reactions to the event may be overstated. What is important here is that details are highlighted or omitted to make a point. Reference may be made to the lifestyle of the victim or their prior relationship with the offender. Not only may information be inaccurate but it may involve violation of the victim's privacy.

2.19 Construction of graphic suffering victims

In relation to the above information about crime is distorted through the graphic presentation of events. While headlines may operate to sensitise one to various types of crime, the choice of photographs may be seen to be governed by an ideological procedure. The use of photographs may give the impression of reproducing the event as it 'really is'. However this suppresses their underlying selective, interpretative and ideological function (Hall 1973: 188). A good example concerns Judy the rape victim speaking about her experience of a brutal sex attack at a Conservative party conference. The dramatic imperative of the media requires easy identification of opposing parties and thus the photographs will be chosen in such a way that offenders are represented as violent and victims as innocent. Reality is reduced into simple categories. A further example concerning the representation of the victim as suffering concerns media representations of the police encouraging distressed relatives to make personal pleas. This may be seen to help portray the police as sympathetic (Ericson, Baranek and Chan 1989). Further, the increasing tendency for police reconstructions and appeals for help (Sparks 1992). Modern day technology in particular, closed circuit television cameras may contribute to a sense of reality as it happened. For example, the abduction of Jamie Bulger by two older boys in which the criminal event was left to one's imagination (Young 1996:111-145). Stories about crime and the police supply drama through an emphasis upon good versus evil (Sparks 1992). Of particular interest in relation to the power and influence of visual images is the way in which closed circuit television or video cameras may provide powerful visual images of suffering how such images may be particularly influential in relation to sentencing.

2.20 Media constructions and superficiality

Media coverage may be viewed as superficial through the reproduction of one sided or official explanations (Elias 1986; Karmen 1990: 20). Superficial coverage may be seen to occur as a consequence of constraints of space and time and is therefore less informative. Issues are often simplified and stereotyping is prevalent. The details and context of the victim offender relationship are frequently absent and reactions of victims to crime are often overlooked. Finally, the context or conditions in which crime occurs is usually absent due to resource constraints.

2.21 Constructions of the victim and entertainment

Media constructions of the victim may be viewed as a source of entertainment and help with the construction of audiences (Elias 1986). These constructions operate to simplify reality to good versus evil. For example, the police versus criminals. Victims are constructed in various dimensions of vulnerability. The victim is constructed as either culpable or pathetically unfortunate. Many more women appear as victims than men and appear as emotional which contribute to drama (Sparks 1992: 145). Media constructions operate to reinforce stereotypes. The previous analyses neglect concern with the increased visibility of the victim through the emergence of popular 'talk shows' concerning people's experiences of crime and related concern with audiences. The relationship between talk show host and victim may be seen to develop with successive disclosures concerning the experience of crime which in turn contributes to increased understanding among the audience about the experience of crime. It may be argued that the popularity of these programmes with audiences stems from the opportunity for the 'vicarious experience' of crime similar to the pleasures associated with reading a detective novel (Young 1996). These programmes may play an important role in informing and educating the public about crime and what it is like to be a victim. They may also educate victims through influencing how they organise and understand their experience of crime.

2.22 Media constructions and their implications

It is important to consider the implications of media coverage particularly on the public. The public will draw upon official definitions of crime to understand the problem of crime. The public draw upon the distorted images of crime circulated by the media. It is no wonder that media coverage may contribute to public fear and anxiety about crime.

For officials, the media provides an opportunity to influence public opinion and win votes. Officials may represent the crime problem as a minor problem or a major problem. The party in power may wish to show how crime is a major problem as a means of securing votes. The Government may define the crime problem in such a way that the problem has been responded and dealt with satisfactorily through presentation of crime statistics which indicate a decline in crime rates. It is only fairly recently that the Labour party have developed a theoretical position on crime. There are some people within the Labour party who are of the opinion that the problem of crime has been exaggerated by the Conservative party and that it ignores the

conditions in which crime occurs. More recently, the Labour party have criticised claims by the right to have tackled the problem of crime through the production of statistics which indicates rises in certain areas. Thus statistics can be manipulated in such a way to make a point. However, it should not be forgotten that officials together with the media and it's prerogative of 'news worthiness' may generate fear of crime among the public. Again, media constructions may have profound influence upon the understanding of public and victims concerning the experience of crime.

2.23 Media constructions, audiences and profit

In all of this the media may be seen to benefit through increased audiences and profit (Elias 1986). It is not to be forgotten that the media is a business concerned with making profits. This brings one to a final point concerning the relationship of the media and officials. The media may be seen to rely upon official sources for information about crime. The media may be seen to reproduce official definitions and may grant access to media space and time on the basis of political ideology. In identifying the media as a business concerned with profits, it may be possible to understand that it is in the interest of the media to reproduce government definitions since to do otherwise might threaten the social order. Thus claims to be acting in the public interest are overridden by the reproduction of officials statements and media concerns with building large audiences and making profits (see Elias 1986; 1993). Victims are therefore involved in a highly political process in which their experiences are only to be recognised when defined by officials and event then defined and interpreted in ways which represent the interests of those parties rather than victims.

2.24 The victim's experience of the media

Previous analyses of the media ignore the victim as a media source and how their version of events undergo distortion by officials and the media. Often the experience of crime is constructed as a statistic by officials and subject to further reconstruction in the media. While the literature recognises how media constructions may be upsetting to victims and their families (Karmen 1990) it devotes little attention to the victim as a source and how the victim may be subject to harassment and violation of privacy. There are remedies available to preserving the anonymity of the rape victim. There is official recognition that media portrayal of victims is often inaccurate. Complaints about inaccurate or misleading information may be addressed by those

concerned through the Press Complaints Commission. Complaints concerning unjust or unfair treatment or unwarranted intrusion or infringement of privacy in broadcast programmes may be addressed by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission. Returning to the area of neglect concerning the issue of the victim as a source, clearly, victims are a news source since it has become increasingly common for victims to sell their stories to newspapers. This may complicate the issue of privacy since the victim has consented to media coverage. Subsequent media coverage may cause distress to victims and relatives alike. A further development concerns the entertainment function of the media and the recent phenomenon of 'talk shows' concerning the experiences of crime and how this may have implications for how victims understand their experiences of crime. Of particular interest is the use of electronic media, in particular, the internet not only in relation to the legal issues raised but how this may influence people's understanding concerning the experience of crime. Recent analyses of the media have taken on a cultural studies approach which focuses on the images and representations of crime and the imagination of crime (Young 1996). Reference is made to the 'vicarious experience' of crime through reading detective fiction. Here, the victim is recognised as an important symbol in the form of suffering and as a 'liminal figure' (Young and Rush 1994). However, this work does not examine the implications of these images for public understanding or for that matter victims understandings of their experience of victimisation. The relationship between the victim and the media is a complex area which is demanding of further research. The key areas for further examination include concern with the victim as a news source; the 'talk show' and the construction of experiences crime; media representations and their implications for the education of victims and the wider public about the experiences of crime. By taking account of these issues a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the victim of crime and the media will be gained.

2.25 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how agencies have responded to concern about victims and victimisation. A particular concern of this chapter has been with demonstrating state, agency and media involvement in the construction of experiences of crime. This was given emphasis through concern with processes of selection and organisation. The chapter showed how official constructions may be understood through concern with their basic beliefs about crime. The chapter demonstrated how the state constructed crime as a problem requiring a financial

solution. The inadequacies of this view were highlighted by reference to the growth of victim organisations and their concern with addressing the unmet needs of victims. The chapter showed how policy making is better understood as a process involving the selection and organisation of information put before committees and further how submissions be unofficial organisations can influence the policy-making process. This is well illustrated by representation by Victim Support on a committee and their role in influencing officials to recognise victims as a problem and provide state funding of victim support schemes. While state funding may undermine the independence of victim services it may benefit service delivery and contribute towards more effective management and concern with accountability. The chapter proceeded to examine critically the concept of needs and rights as the basis for victim services provision. The chapter also scrutinised interest and support in the victim or 'the victim movement'. The chapter also considered the important role occupied by the media. The media highlights processes of construction since it emphasises methods of selection and presentation. This involved examination of the criteria of news worthiness and reliance upon sources, most particularly the definitions of officials but also showed how there may be competition for space and time in the media and how the media played an important role not only in relation to negotiation with sources but in the construction and presentation of stories about victims. The chapter showed how the victim's relationship with the media has been overlooked, particularly as a source but also in relation to the educational impact of media constructions. This is complicated further through recognition of the victim as both seller and consumer of news stories and of their corresponding legal rights and responsibilities. Certainly, media constructions have profound consequences in relation to understanding by individual victims and the public. The relationship between the victim and the media is a fascinating and complex area demanding further academic attention. Thus, the chapter has shown how the constructions of agencies and the media neglect the constructions of the victim of crime.

CHAPTER 3

CONSTRUCTING THE EXPERIENCE OF CRIME III: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF VICTIMS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates how the experience of crime has been constructed by academics. In particular, it shows how the majority of research in this area is characterised by adherence to the positivist paradigm and how this may limit understanding concerning the experience of victimisation. It shows how victimisation research has been preoccupied with classification and categorisation of victims on the basis of characteristics and behaviour. Efforts to shows the active role of the victim in precipitating the criminal event may be viewed as contributing to victim blaming. Beyond this, the criminal victimisation survey has sought to provide more accurate measures of the experiences of victimisation than provided by official criminal statistics. The limitations of these positivistic approaches are seen to relate to the treatment of the event, measurement and the evaluation of seriousness as unproblematic. This situation may be seen to be alleviated through the influence of critical perspectives in criminology and the development of a critical victimology. It is reasonable to conclude that the constructions provided by the positivistic nature of victimology are unsophisticated since the victim is viewed as a reified object frequently subject to a discourse of blaming. In response to this, an alternative construction of the victim is sought through examination of a psychological literature. This literature examines the cognitive processes and coping strategies employed by victims as a consequence of the experience of victimisation. The assumptions about the world held by the victim are subject to change. It therefore contributes towards an understanding of the experience of crime as dynamic in nature. This literature provides a more sophisticated construction of the experiences of crime but also directs attention towards concern with the constructions of victims themselves.

The study of victims or victimology assumes the study of a relationship which is victimising. What is a victim? One dictionary definition suggests that a victim is 'a person who is put to death or subjected to torture by another[1]. Another definition refers to one who suffers severely in body or property through cruel or oppressive

[1] The Oxford English Dictionary. Clarendon Oxford (1989: 607)

treatment. A further definition makes reference to sacrifice. These definitions are value laden. Young (1982) suggests that a lack of consensus about subjective definitions has contributed to confine victimology to the study of victims in the criminal sphere and thus it may be easier to leave the definition of victim to legal determination.

3.2 Positivist Victimology[2]

Victim Typologies

Early explanations relating to the study of the victim of crime are concerned with the causes of crime. There is a sense in which the victim is always the "cause" of the crime. These sorts of explanations are to be found in the work of Von Hentig (1948). In his book, 'The Criminal and his Victim', he examined the 'duet frame of crime' in which there were always two partners: the perpetrator and the victim. Von Hentig felt:

> ...that the relationships between perpetrator and victim were much more intricate than the rough distinctions of criminal law. (1967: 383)

He goes on to say that:

> As soon as they draw near to one another . . . a wide range of interactions, repulsions as well as attractions is set in motion. What the law does is to watch the one who acts and the one who is acted upon. By this external criterion a subject and object, a perpetrator and a victim are distinguished. In sociological and psychological quality the situation may be completely different. It may happen that the two distinct categories merge. There are cases in which they are reversed and in the long chain of causative forces the victim assumes the role of determinant. (1967: 383-384)

At the most general level Von Hentig argues that the study of society proceeds by the classification of social groups. Common interests may not necessarily give rise to a group but give rise to a subject-object relation. Thus in a sense the victim "shapes and moulds the criminal" (p384). They work upon each other profoundly and continually. He further argues that "often victims seem to be born, often they are

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[2] See Miers, D (1989) 'Positivist Victimology: a Critique' International Review of Victimology vol.1 pp3-22

society made" (Von Hentig 1979: 385). In the same vein he points to the linguistic expression of the doer-sufferer relationship. This gives emphasis to the sufferer. Consequently, he draws a crude distinction between the active and the passive partners in the game (p.388).

Von Hentig proceeds to classify victim types using some statistical data on homicide rates (although his evidence is primarily anecdotal based upon unstructured observations). One of the main burdens of his argument is to expose the naive conception of crime where the offender was always the "doer" and the victim always the "sufferer". Consequently, he distinguished five general classes of victim in which he included children, females, the elderly, the mentally disabled, immigrants, minorities and dull normals. The basis for this classification is associated with risk recognition and avoidance. The capacity to recognise risk varies from person to person and likewise the ability to take avoiding action. It is obvious that the groups identified by Von Hentig possess characteristics which reduce their ability to perceive or avoid the risk of criminal victimisation. Beyond this, Von Hentig made a further distinction concerning 'psychological types of victim'. Here, he points to the depressed, the acquisitive, the wanton, the lonely, the heart broken, the tormentor, the blocked, exempted and fighting victims. Von Hentig goes on to sub classify the depressed further by their particular attitude. These are (1) apathetic, lethargic (2) submitting, conniving, passively submitting (3) co-operative, contributory (4) provocative, instigative, soliciting. His use of these latter categories can immediately be criticised on the grounds that they are temporary emotional states rather than psychological types. In general his explanation is social to the extent that it attempts to explain interaction but it focuses in the main on individual attributes and psychological states at the expense of more situational explanations and the essentially social nature of criminogenic actions.

This shift of focus to the social context is recognised by other authors. Whilst contingencies which happen to people in these circumstances they 'may share a common label -'victimisation'- they share virtually nothing else' (Gottfredson 1981:724). This points to a major difficulty with any typology such as the one articulated by Von Hentig, which infers a higher susceptibility to criminal victimisation on the part of some rather than others. It is essential that it includes referents which are empirically testable which Von Hentig does not. Beyond this, it seems a little strange that Von Hentig, whose main argument was concerned with the interaction and the relationship between the victim and the offender, should conclude

his argument by constructing a typology which is based upon personality traits. Nonetheless his main and lasting contribution lies in exposing the naiveté of the doer-sufferer model embraced by common sense and the criminal law.

Like Von Hentig, Mendelsohn (1954; 1974; 1976) was similarly interested in human interaction and personality traits. He was a lawyer and his work arose from his interest in the causes of motor vehicle accidents. However, the implications of his approach go far beyond this type of incident. The dominant theory in this area at the time concerned 'accident proneness' in which due to innate personal characteristics, it was argued that some people are more likely than others to precipitate accidents in conditions of risk. Mendelsohn drew an interesting analogy between susceptibility to accident and criminal victimisation. His concern was with the relationship and interaction between victims and offenders and the possible existence of victim prone personalities.

One clear practical limitation of the work of Mendelsohn in this area is that there are various explanations concerning the incidence of motor vehicle accidents. These include the increase in the number of vehicles driven, the consequent increased likelihood of collisions occurring and that safety measures including highway design improvements may not keep up. However, despite the existence of legislation and the possibility or fact of prosecution, it is only after an accident that the accident prone (if these persons exist) are likely to become cautious and therefore reduce the risk of further damage.

However, Mendelsohn's interest went beyond the prevention of this particular type of crime or misfortune through concern with minimising 'victimity'. By this, he meant all categories of victims who suffer 'damage'. The word was used in widest sense: physical, mental, social, and economic. By 'victimology', Mendelsohn meant that branch of study which is concerned with all socially relevant categories of victims. These include the individual and collective and have due regard to different types of damage. According to Mendelsohn, the aim of victimology was one involving the investigation of the causes of victimisation with the aim of devising effective solutions. These solutions included the creation of fewer victims, minimising harm when it takes place and concern with achieving a less severe degree of 'victimity' throughout the whole of society.

Mendelsohn differentiated victims according to what he regarded as their degree of guilt in precipitating the offence. He differentiated between the completely innocent victim, the victim with minor guilt, the victim whose guilt is equal to that of the offender, the victim who is more guilty (for example by provocation) and the victim who is most guilty (for example, one who initiates the fight in which he comes off worse). Most culpable of all, in his view was the simulating or imaginary victim. It is of interest that Mendelsohn who was concerned with increased susceptibility resulting from the interaction between the behaviour of the offender and certain critical characteristics of the victim should construct a typology about the culpability of the victim in a manner similar to Von Hentig, although Von Hentig does not use a language of culpability.

As has been said Mendelsohn was interested in a broader definition of victim. He constructed a broader typology around different types of environment to explain causes of victimisation. He suggested that victimisation stemmed from six types of environments. i) The bio-physical endogenous environment of the victim himself. ii) the natural surrounding milieu, which consists of free or controlled forces. iii) The milieu of changed surroundings. iv) The social milieu. v) The antisocial milieu. vi) the driving milieu.

Young (1982) suggests that Mendelsohn's definitions are problematic. First, environments overlap and cannot be separated. The changed surroundings type of environment suggest that this type of environment is the result of pollution. It has been suggested that a better classification would be 'interface milieu' or environment of man/nature's interface. It has also been suggested that the social and antisocial should be one category. Mendelsohn's definition of the driving milieu is located in the active state of machinery. It includes not only the scope of the movements of the motor, it's accessories and machines, all joined in work, but also the source of the force. Young suggests that the term evokes a mechanical environment which might be better served by a definition of 'technological milieu'. However, his vision of victims of mechanical machines may be viewed as restrictive. Certain environments may contribute to victimisation. However, it is the interrelationships of environment and victim which is worth highlighting in which certain types of victims emerge from certain types of environments.

Mendelsohn's typology highlights the problems surrounding definition of victim. He argues that the study of victims should be concerned with non criminological

victims. He goes on to advocate a typology of environment as causes of victimisation. The typologies as simplifications of reality provide powerful definitions. It should also be noted that such definitions belong to the academic researcher and thus they may operate to obscure the definitions of the victim.

Research on Victim Precipitation

Both Von Hentig and Mendelsohn attempted to construct models concerning the victim's contribution to crime. As suggested these were inadequate not least because they relied in the main upon anecdotal and impressionistic evidence. From the late 1950's there followed a considerable amount of research on the role of the victim in criminal transactions. One of these studies, Wolfgang's study of homicide, merits fuller attention. It represents an advance on Von Hentig and Mendelsohn's work in terms of it's systematic approach and its more sophisticated concern with the contentious concept of 'victim precipitation'.

Wolfgang was particularly concerned to identify instances in which victims had precipitated the events leading to their subsequent death. Victim precipitated homicides were defined, as amongst others, those in which:

> the victim is...the first in the homicide drama to use physical force against his subsequent slayer (Wolfgang 1958: 252)

Using victim and offender data relating to 588 homicides in Philadelphia between 1948 and 1952 Wolfgang analysed systematic data which included the following variables; race, age, sex, previous criminal record of the participants, time, place and means of death, the role of alcohol and, in particular, the nature of any prior relationship between the victim and the offender. He concluded that in 26% of the cases studied, the victim had to some extent precipitated the homicide. He noted that in particular there was a higher incidence of homicide where the victim had a criminal record, alcohol had been consumed and where there was a prior relationship between victim and offender. This is not conclusive evidence of victim precipitation. Nonetheless, Wolfgang was one of the first criminologists to investigate the phenomenon of victim precipitated crime.

Victim precipitated rape

The concept of victim precipitation has been applied to other crimes, the most controversial of which was Amir's application of victim involvement in sexual

crimes (Amir 1971). Amir's study of forcible rape used a broad definition of victim precipitation in which he suggested that this occurs in:

> those rape situations where the victim actually, or so it was deemed, agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or did not react strongly enough when the suggestion was made by the offender(s) (Amir 1971:266).

In relation to the above, the interpretation by the offender of the intentions of the victim is clearly an important factor. In these circumstances victim precipitation of rape meant that, in a particular situation, the behaviour of the victim was interpreted by the offender either as a direct invitation for sexual relations or as a sign that the person was available for sexual contact. A further feature of Amir's model was that it directed attention to the 'vulnerable situation' which was assumed to operate in enhancing the offender's interpretation of the victim's availability as a sexual partner. Included in this definition of victim precipitation were what he termed 'acts of commission' (using indecent language, having a drink or taking a lift) as well as 'acts of omission' (failing to react strongly enough to suggestions charged with sexuality). Amir's interpretation of the data was based upon police records. On the basis of the above definition, Amir suggested that 19% of cases known to the police involved an element of victim precipitation. The type, duration and intensity of victim-offender relations may provide a plausible explanation as to how victim behaviour and situational elements led to the offence. In 57% (46) of cases of forcible rape the victims were known to the offender. This casts doubt upon the notion that the rapist strikes randomly at women who are unknown to him.

Both Wolfgang's and Amir's studies purport to show that a number of victims precipitate offences and that victims resemble offenders in their demographic and personal characteristics. These findings are consistent with Singer's findings (1981) and in marked contrast to the persistent belief that victims and offenders are two very different types of people.

Amir concludes:

> When the precipitating victims have the same characteristics as their non victim precipitating sisters, they appear in those cases which do not seem to involve vulnerable situations, and this lends support to our previous assumption that it is not solely the vulnerable situations but also some characteristics of victim behaviour which are important in precipitating the offence. Further, the notion of negligent and reckless behaviour on the part of

> the victim is as important to understanding the offence as is the appearance of these types of behaviour in the offender. (p502)

Thus the core of Amir's argument is that there are characteristics of certain potential victims which may help precipitate the offence. Equally, there are situations where the victims behaviour, victim-offender relations and other elements increase the likelihood of certain women being sexually assaulted.

The most obvious limitations of this study are that it relies upon officially recorded reports of rape and that the definition of victim precipitation is problematic. It may be viewed as problematic through relying exclusively upon the interpretation of the situation by the offender. Alternatively, it may be argued that rather than reflect the offenders definition of the situation the definition reflects the values of the male researcher. In effect, this study may be construed as a form of victim blaming (Ryan 1971).

Beyond these criticisms, there are dangers associated with applying a concept developed to explain how people get killed during fights to the rather different circumstances of rape. More recently the concept has been applied in relation to car theft (Karmen 1980). This illustrates how the concept of victim precipitation which is supposed to provide a further explanation of causes may contribute at policy level towards shifting responsibility away from the criminal and onto the victim and the general public through crime prevention. This is further evidence that employment of the concept victim precipitation contributes to 'victim blaming' (Ryan 1971).

The prediction of victimisation and lifestyle

It can be argued that one of the main difficulties with the concept of victim precipitation is that it confined an explanation to individual events and their individual precipitating characteristics and ignored the social patterning of criminal victimisation. However, Hindelang et al (1978) constructed a theoretical model which claimed to account for variations in the likelihood of becoming the victim of a personal crime. This theoretical model was based upon the concept of lifestyle.

The lifestyle approach to personal victimisation centred on a series of hypotheses concerning the nature of personal victimisation. The model is supported by victimisation data and other sources of information about crime. This shows how victimisation is not randomly distributed across space and time. Lifestyle patterns

influence the amount of exposure that people have to time and places with varying risks of victimisation as well as the number of encounters people have with others who are more or less likely to commit crime. In explaining this, Hindelang introduced and defined the concept of 'lifestyle' as 'routine daily activities, both vocational activities and leisure activities' (1978: 241). This model proposed that individuals in society are constrained by role expectations and structural constraints (economic, familial, educational and legal) which are connected amongst other things to demographic variables (age, sex, race, income, marital status, education and occupation). Individuals are viewed as adapting to these constraints and these adaptations are reflected in their daily routines or lifestyle. It is argued that there is a direct link between an individual's routine activities and exposure to high risk situations. For personal victimisation to occur several factors must come together:

> First the prime actors, the offender and the victim, must have occasion to intersect in time and space. Second, some source of dispute or claim must arise between the actors in which the victim is perceived by the offender as an appropriate object of victimisation. Third the offender must be willing and able to threaten or use force (or stealth) in order to achieve the desired end. Fourth the circumstances must be such that the offender views it as dangerous to use or threaten force (or stealth) to achieve their desired end. The probability of these conditions being met is related to the life circumstances of members of society (Hindelang et al 1978: 250)

This framework is expanded into a series of eight propositions which are as follows:

1. The probability of suffering personal victimisation is directly related to the amount of time that a person spends in public places (e. g. on the street, in parks, etc.) and most particularly in public places at night
2. The probability of being in public places, particularly at night, varies as a function of lifestyle.
3. Social contacts and interactions occur with disproportionate frequency among individuals who share similar lifestyles.
4. An individuals chances of personal victimisation are dependent upon the extent to which the individual shares demographic characteristics with offenders
5. The proportion of time an individual spends among non family members varies as a function of lifestyle
6. The probability of personal victimisation, particularly personal theft, increases as a function of the proportion of time that an individual spends among non family members
7. Variations in lifestyle are associated with variations in the ability of individuals to isolate themselves from persons with offender characteristics

8. Variations in lifestyle are associated with variations in the convenience, the desirability and the vincibility of a person as a target for personal victimisations

As previously mentioned the major advantage of this model is it considers factors beyond the immediate control of the participants however there are also limitations associated with this approach. The model assumes that lifestyle is measurable. It does not take account of routine activities being taken for granted and thus victimisation may not be reported because it is taken for granted by the participants. Further, it views the individual as passively adapting rather than resisting or questioning structural constraints. The concept of lifestyle is viewed as static and measurable rather than one which is subject to construction and reconstruction on a daily basis. While this purports to be a model of personal victimisation it excludes personal victimisation which occurs in the home or in private. This model may be viewed as reinforcing conventional understandings of criminal victimisation.

Routine activities approach

A similar model to Hindelang's et al (1978) was developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) which is usually known as the routine activity approach where routine activities are defined as:

> any recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs, whatever their biological or cultural origins. Thus routine activities would included formalised work, as well as the provision of standard food, shelter, sexual outlet, leisure, social interaction, learning and childrearing (Cohen and Felson 1979:593).

Their work focused on 'direct-contact predatory violations', that is those involving direct physical contact between at least one offender and at least one person or object which that offender attempts to take or damage' (p589) In order for such offences to occur there are three necessary components: motivated offenders, suitable targets, and an absence of capable guardians and these three must converge in space and time. According to Garofalo (1986) there are two important similarities between the lifestyle model and the routine activity approach. Both models deal with patterned behaviour rather than variation derived from individual characteristics. Neither model explains the motivation of offenders. There are further differences between the models. Hindelang's model explains differences in victimisation rates due to differences in the lifestyles of sections of the population at one point in time whereas

Cohen and Felson's model (1979) focuses upon crimes which involve direct contact with the offender. Thus the lifestyle model is more flexible since it can be used to explain property crime including burglary.

Cohen has conducted further research involving the lifestyle/routine activity model in relation to personal theft of two types, personal robbery (involving personal contact) (Cohen, Cantor and Kluegel 1981) and residential burglary (without personal contact occurring away from the residence of the victim and involving no personal confrontation between the victim and the offender (Cohen and Cantor 1981 cited in Fattah 1986). Cohen's findings generally support predictions concerning differences in risks from the model although there were some differences in the relationships between variables. In personal larceny risks were higher for the young, those living alone and the unemployed.

In their study of residential burglary Cohen and Cantor (1981 cited in Fattah 1986) used different indicators of exposure to risk and guardianship because the target in burglary is different from the focus of personal crimes. Variations in risk for income showed a different pattern for residential burglary than it did for robbery. They found that risk was highest in the bottom income category and next highest in the top income category. Middle income households were found to have the lowest risks of burglary. This pattern was explained by noting that income is an indicator of both the location of household in relation to areas with a high concentration of offenders and the target attractiveness of the household.

Major criticisms have been directed at models which employ the concept of lifestyle to explain victimisation. The model encourages ex post facto explanations. It implies a reductio ad absurdum which would imply that those who are not exposed at all run no risk of victimisation. This limitation of the theory is addressed by Gottfredson (1981) who draws a distinction between absolute and probabilistic exposure to risk. By absolute exposure he means that the victim must come into contact with the offender for the crime to occur. This explanation would rule out crimes where there was no face-to-face contact between the victim and the perpetrator as in computer crime. A further criticism of lifestyle models is that the structure of routine activities is subject to change over time. A further difficulty is that this type of reasoning encourages ex post facto explanations. In this respect the theory is difficult to invalidate. Any future modification would require the development of an operational definition of lifestyle and specification of the

variables which serve as indicators of this phenomenon. Unfortunately there is little progress with either of these.

A central feature of the lifestyle model is the primacy of demographic variables. For example, the extent to which the individual shares demographic characteristics with offenders is highly important. (Hindelang et al 1978:257) and Singer 1981 speak of 'homogenous victim-offender populations'. This is more or less consistent with British Crime Survey findings which demonstrated a strong association between self reported offending and being the victim of a violent crime.

Garofalo (1986) suggests that the lifestyle model can be modified to provide a more thorough understanding of the risks of victimisation. The model which was initially meant to apply to direct contact predatory offences can be extended to cover a wider range of crimes than the personal crimes used in the original lifestyle model. However, the working of the model depends on the nature of the crime. A further refinement involves the inclusion of the individuals 'perceptions about crime' and 'reactions to crime' each of which may affect exposure and associations through lifestyle. Two further factors which may not always be unrelated to lifestyle and are shown as having direct effects on the risk of victimisation are 'target attractiveness' and 'personal idiosyncrasies', although to invoke the latter seems to include a 'catch all' category.

The work of Hindelang and others (1978) is, however, an advance on the work of Wolfgang as it has a conceptual basis more firmly grounded in empirical findings derived from analyses of victimisation survey data as distinct from official statistics. British Crime Survey data can be interpreted in the framework of the lifestyle exposure model. An advantage of the model lies in it's ability to frame an explanation of victimisation which rises above the motives of individual participants.

In relation to the above, Smith (1982) found that 'spare-time activities' were found to be the most discriminating factor between victims and non victims. However, Sparks (1982) provides a list of concepts which he considers relevant to victimology. His list includes the concepts of precipitation, facilitation, vulnerability, opportunity, attractiveness and impunity (Sparks 1982: 33). He suggests that these concepts may be used to analyse changes in victimisation rates and that the survey method may be used to provide a means of investigating these theoretical questions. A limitation of these concepts relates to their emphasis upon the individual and how this may imply

individual responsibility in relation to the victimising event. A further limitation stems from neglect concerning the wider social processes which operate over and above individuals. It ignores the presence of powerful relationships and their impact upon the victim. Further, it ignores the capacity of the individual to struggle or resist these influences. Finally, due to their focus upon the individual and responsibility for the event occurring these concepts may be seen to lend themselves to victim blaming discourses (Walklate 1989: 15-18).

3.21 Measurement of the experience of crime - a problematic area

Official criminal statistics provide an inadequate measure of crime because much of crime is unreported or unrecorded. The criminal victimisation survey was thought to provide a more comprehensive picture of the crime problem. It was also thought that this type of information would help deal with public misunderstanding about crime, levels of crime and the risks of crime. For example, a survey based measure of crime would demonstrate how offences recorded by the police might be subject to statistical increase or decreases by changes in reporting and recording practices. Information about crime risks was also thought to show how the risks of serious crime were actually quite low and would help reduce inaccurate stereotypes of crime victims. It was felt that the surveys would not only provide a more accurate picture of crime but help achieve a more balanced climate of public opinion about law and order. It was thought that a national survey would encourage criminological research and theorising by including information about crime and related topics. It is also worth noting that during the eighties there was a shift in emphasis from the offender to the victim with the victim of crime as a political item (Wright 1977 cited in Home Office 1988). This functioned to create demands for factual information about the characteristics of victims and the impact of crime upon victims of crime.

The first British Crime Survey questionnaire contained core questions about victimisation and asked those identified as victims details about their experience. This included questions concerning lifestyle and other factors affecting the risks of victimisation, fear of and beliefs and attitudes about crime, contact with the police and attitudes about the police, drinking habits and self reported offending and the impact of crime on victims. A second survey focused upon topics concerning the assessment of the seriousness of crime, impact of crime on victims, perception of risks and fear of crime, attitudes to sentencing, neighbourhood watch and self reported offending. The 1983 survey concluded that the risks of crime were not

substantial and that women's fears of crime were disproportionate to the risks and were deemed 'irrational' (Hough and Mayhew 1983). While criminal victimisation surveys have revealed more about the dark figure of crime they also have limitations. The major criticisms emerge from the inadequacy of surveys to reveal differential experiences of crime in terms of local and group experiences and how the surveys do not treat gender as an issue. However, there are also issues arising from employment of the survey method and how these may be seen to derive from an orientation towards objective measurement.

3.22 Problematic measurement (recall of the event and constructed memories)

Beyond problems concerning non response and error, a further source of inaccuracy may occur through the retrospective nature of the survey approach and of the consequent difficulties faced by respondents in recalling personal experiences of crime. Mayhew et al (1989) note how respondents may simply forget a relevant incident, remember the incident but think it happened before the reference period, remember an incident as happening within the reference period, remember an incident but not be prepared to mention it, fail to realise that an incident meets the terms of the question; or even make an offence up. The measurement approach downplays the extent to which people's memories shape information and are selective. It downplays the extent to which people may be selective in telling their experiences to a complete stranger. For example, female respondents may experience difficulty recalling experiences of domestic violence or sexual assault to a male stranger. Survey approaches often overlook the difficulties faced by respondents in attempting to locate their experiences within the categories of the survey. The approach overlooks the extent to which the person administering the questionnaire may to some extent influence the responses on the part of the respondent. It overlooks the context in which the survey is being administered. It may be that either or both parties may have other priorities and may rush or give the impression of being harried, urging hasty completion of the questionnaire which may not be conducive to recalling experiences of victimisation. Survey approaches ignore the role of others including family members in relation to recall of the criminal event and the influence of the researcher on the respondent in encouraging recall of the events. Thus research concerning victimisation has treated recall of the event as unproblematic. Perhaps greater academic attention should be directed towards the issue of constructed memories and the role of others and, in particular, the active role played by the researcher in this process (Middleton and Edwards 1990). This issue is

highlighted by adult survivors of sexual abuse claims for compensation based upon expert testimony based upon 'recovered memories'. Indeed, the issue has been plunged into further controversy through claims made by an American writer that analysts are contributing to the creation of 'false memories' about child abuse (Hugill 1996).

3.23 Problematic measurement (the discrete event and the issue of multiple victimisation)

The limitations of the survey method have been highlighted further in relation to understanding the issue of multiple victimisation (Genn 1988). Genn notes how in asking victims about their experiences of crime, victim surveys have tended to use an approach referred to as the 'events orientation' in which crimes are conceptualised as 'discrete incidents'. The 'events orientation' may be tracked down to the major aim of surveys in estimating the nature and extent of unrecorded crime. Victims experiences of crime are located within a counting frame of reference. It may be argued that the experiences of crime are better conceptualised as a 'process' than as a set of discrete events. This is highlighted in relation to dealing with experiences of violent crime. In relation to multiple victimisation, respondents may fail to recall incidents which are common and if the respondent recalls these common incidents this functions to increase the risks rates for the population. Left realists recognise that capturing the experiences of crime in local areas may be undermined through experiences of crime being so common as to be taken for granted and not reported. The issue of measurement concerning multiple victimisation is only one aspect of what is considered to be a highly complex problem. Other research has sought to understand the problem of multiple victimisation further (Farrell 1992; Hope and Walklate 1995).

3.24 Problematic measurement (incident seriousness and the impact of crime)

Measures of crime provided by official criminal statistics are incomplete since they provide a measure of recorded crime. Many people do not report crime because it is not felt to be serious enough (40%). Those who report crime do so because they feel it is serious. Seriousness can be gauged through offence classification. Official statistics classify crime according to whether it is a 'personal' or 'property' crime. In seeking to make figures comparable the British Crime Survey has adopted a similar mode of classification. The surveys recognise that one measure of serious crime are

those crimes which are reported to the police. It is recognised that seriousness may be gauged through offence classification however while some crimes may not be considered serious they may cause considerable distress to victims. Academics have sought to overcome some of the problems associated with the measurement of seriousness using the concept of 'impact'. However, the use of this concept operates in such a way that measures are based upon objective factors such as financial loss and degree of injury. These measures rely upon the definitions of experts at the expense of concern with seriousness as defined by the victim.

A major problem of surveys may be seen to stem from setting up an objective definition about a phenomenon which is subjective. In setting up a definition regardless of the assessment of individuals "victimisation research trivialises that which is important and makes important that which is trivial" (Young 1988). To provide a useful evaluation the crime rate must include an element of human evaluation. What is serious to one person may be trivial to others. Victimisation research neglects the interpretations and meanings constructed by respondents and the context in which these meanings are constructed. It might be argued that such research may require to include a qualitative element.

In an analysis by Mawby (1994) he recognises how the effects of crime are confined to statistical estimates of loss or damage. He also shows how in the 1988 British Crime Survey (Mayhew et al 1989) violence was used in just over half (57%) of personal crimes and in a fraction (0.6%) of household crimes. Further, this survey showed how loss and damage as a consequence of the crime was found in 94% of household crimes and 17% of personal crimes. In relation to those studies which deal specifically with the effects of crime, the effects of burglary may be seen to be limited by an orientation towards the classification and quantification of experiences. In Maguire's research (1980) concerning reported burglaries 32% of respondents emphasised the financial consequences of the experience while 41% mentioned intrusion of privacy and 19% referred to emotional upset. In Shapland's study of reported violent crime (1985) not only were the effects of the police and the courts on the victim noted but the study revealed the prevalence of physical, social and psychological effects over time. Financial losses were characterised by their low level and decrease in nature over time. In a recent survey, Maguire and Corbett (1987) interviewed victims of burglary, robbery and assault and theft from the person who had reported these crimes to the police and who had been referred to victim support schemes. The majority of respondents said that they had felt 'very much

affected'. 40% of respondents reported that their first reaction was one characterised by shock, panic and confusion. With reference to a list supplied by the researcher, victims referred to reactions, in particular, anger and difficulty in sleeping. A further set of interviews were conducted with a small sample of rape victims Here, the traumatic nature of the impact of crime upon victims was reinforced (Maguire and Corbett 1987). Mawby argues that these smaller studies reveal concerns which may be overlooked by the larger criminal victimisation surveys. It is difficult to compare crime surveys because the questions are subject to change. In 1984 crime survey 11 % survey respondents said crime had effected them very much and 17 % said quite a lot. Of the effects 42% mentioned practical problems and 3% mentioned emotional problems. It is of particular interest to note that only those crimes which were evaluated as more serious were reported to the police and these tended to be ones which had more impact on victims. Effects were seen to vary depending upon the type of the offence. On the whole personal crimes affected victims more than household crimes.

On the basis of the above it may be argued that the measurement paradigm does not take one very far in relation to understanding the impact of crime. It may be argued that to understand the impact or fear of crime will involve concern with the cognitive processes or constructions of the individual. This may also involve the employment of more qualitative techniques. It may be argued that to understand the impact of crime will also involve taking account of context in which these constructions are made. This may involve concern with the presence and influence of various relationships in relation to the individual including those concerning social support. This analysis may be extended to embrace the social context and how constructions here may influence the constructions of the individual. Beyond these considerations, the dynamic nature of these constructions require to be accommodated if one seeks a more sophisticated understanding of the impact of crime. These comments may be viewed as contributing to the continued development of a critical victimology.

3.3 Towards a critical victimology - left realism, feminist perspectives and the move towards constructivism

In the light of criminal victimisation surveys concluding that crime was not a major problem and that women's fears were 'irrational', left realists sought to show how crime was a 'real' problem for some sections of the population. In response to criticisms about the ability of national surveys ability to reveal the differential

incidence and impact of crime the local crime survey was introduced. These surveys were underwritten by the left realist approach and claimed to capture peoples experiences of crime. These surveys tended to be geographically focused and demonstrate concern with the class base of victimisation through locating the victim in their materialist context. Focused sampling was thought to allow differentiation in the experience of crime to be more precisely highlighted. Here, the variables of age, gender and ethnicity were regarded as important.

Left realism emphasises 'problems as people experience them' and therefore may be seen to place the victim centre stage (Young 1986). Young states that 'victimisation research commonly trivialises that which is important and makes important that which is trivial' (Young 1988: 173). The left realist urges one to take what human beings consider to be important to understand the impact of crime while at the same time recognising that some groups experience more crime than others. Not only has one to take seriously what people define as 'real' but take seriously the material conditions which frame that reality. What may be defined as 'real' may not be accurate while features of the victimisation process which are not defined as 'real' may nonetheless have an impact upon the person. As Walklate (1994) argues, unless one takes account of these processes our understanding of criminal victimisation will be limited.

The left realists also claim to address women's experiences. Young (1988) claims that the left realist perspective can take feminists issues seriously and at the same time place them in their materialist context. He claims to do so conceptually, using the example victimisation of women, he discusses how the risk and fear of crime and the extent to which crime surveys reveal the real incidence of crime is a function of a number of mechanisms. Using the example of victimisation of women he argues that the impact of crime is trivialised and concealed making women more powerless. These processes are framed by crime being constructed within relationships, in particular, patriarchal relationships. The left realist is committed to uncovering these mechanisms using the local survey. The local survey uses refined sampling for age, gender and ethnicity. It is geographically focused in inner cities showing concern for the class base of victimisation. While sampling allows differences in crime to be shown and that crime is not rare for particular sections of the community. However, there are doubts about whether it's success can be equated with concerns raised by the feminists. It may be argued that emphasis on the survey method means not only that the criminologists gaze cannot see gender but neither can realist victimology.

Thus theoretical and methodological tensions are present. It seems to be a problem of standpoint. A commitment to the view that crime is a problem for the working class makes it difficult to see or know from these two different sites concerning class and gender. Walklate (1994) notes how this theoretical framework does not explain how people might resist their structural conditions. For example, women may develop strategies to deal with their powerlessness.

The methodology of the local crime survey approach has revealed in greater detail the extent of criminal victimisation within local communities in terms of gender, ethnic and class dimensions. This suggests that crime is by no means a rare occurrence. However, a number of difficulties remain. Even local surveys also have a dark figure and are limited in their ability to reveal peoples experiences of victimisation. Local surveys are limited in their capacity to explain the fear of crime, the impact of crime and with capturing women's experiences.

Feminist Perspectives

It is claimed that women's experiences of crime are seriously underestimated by criminal victimisation surveys. Only one attempted rape was reported in the 1982 crime survey. Local surveys found higher incidences of violence against women (Jones et al 1996). This may be a consequence of the way in which surveys were often administered to the male head of household and conducted by strangers frequently men. Early crime surveys which condemned women's fears as irrational were perhaps a little hasty in that these did not take account of avoiding behaviour taken by women and that their fear of crime may be 'well founded' (Hanmer and Saunders 1984). Feminist research has revealed even higher incidences of violence against women (Stanko 1989). The best example of using survey methods to examine women's experiences of violence is a study conducted by Diana Russell (1982). Here, lifetime experiences were considered rather than experiences within the previous year. This has contributed to a feminist critique of criminology. Feminist writing has been critical of mainstream criminology since it seems that criminology has been constructed by men, for men and about men and therefore women's experiences of crime remain hidden (Stanko 1988). Feminist writers have revealed more about female offending and women as victims (Stanko 1988). They have provided some useful conceptual frameworks to criminology with which to address women's experiences of victimisation. These include feminist empiricism which is critical of claims to objectivity made by mainstream social science (Harding 1986;

1987). It reveals how what passes for science in the world is perceived from the perspective of men. What seems like objectivity is really 'sexism' and the questions social science has asked have excluded women and the interests of women. Smart (1990) notes how this has necessitated the revision of epistemological and methodological assumptions. Of particular relevance is standpoint feminism in which feminist knowledge is based upon experience and this experience is achieved through women reflexively engaged in struggle (Smart 1990: 80). Here, it is suggested that we are all located within a (changing) web or configuration of relationships (Cain 1990). We all have relationships with other people and we speak from our own unique site in a complex configuration of interrelated people. Thus, there are as many knowledge's as there are persons. Standpoint epistemologies have been developed to deal with this point (Smart 1990; Cain 1990). Here, one has to be aware of the position from which one is speaking. This constitutes theoretical reflexivity. Methodological procedures have been developed for revealing women's experiences (Gelsthorpe 1990). Here, the traditional relationship between researcher and researched in which people are treated as objects is rejected in favour of interactive methodologies. Rather than a hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the respondent, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is collaborative in nature. Helen Roberts (1981) uses the concept of reflexivity to describe the process by which the researcher locates themselves within their work.

Despite these contributions feminist criminology is often located on the fringes of criminology. By contrast, mainstream criminology may seem intellectually arid through adherence to the positivist paradigm. Feminist criminology has made some interesting conceptual and methodological contributions to criminology in relation to making visible and furthering the understanding of women's experiences of victimisation.

The construction of an agenda for a critical victimology

The need for a critical victimology has been recognised (Fattah 1986; Walklate 1992) and may be seen to stem from theoretical, methodological and political concerns. Theoretically, the academic study of victims has not incorporated an understanding of power relationships into it's theoretical frameworks. There is little understanding about how victims resist their structural powerlessness nor how social structure may have real consequences for an individual of which they may be unaware. A more sophisticated theoretical and methodological construction for the study of victims is necessary. Walklate (1989, 1990) draws upon ideas from left realism and feminist

critiques of criminology. Reference is also made to the need to take account of the wider historical context and wider social changes such as the victim movement and changes in the criminal justice system. Walkate (1992) refers to the need for a methodology which is clear in it's standpoint and in which a number of research techniques are required to uncover the different layers of reality which structure both the experiences and responses to victimisation. She suggests how the time has come to stand back from the actor's point of view and relocate that view in an enabling and constraining context if one seeks a fuller understanding of the processes of criminal victimisation (Walklate 1992).

In relation to the above, critical victimology recognises the need to develop theory and methods which take account of the political context of victimisation. Recognition of the need to take account of political context has already been recognised in feminist writing in relation to the victim-survivor debate (Kelly 1988: 159-185). Feminists have recognised the importance of making a distinction between the terms 'victim' and 'survivor'. Gillespie (1996) notes how feminists find the term 'survivor' more useful than 'victim' since the term 'survivor' is seen as more empowering than the term 'victim' which suggests passivity and lack of autonomy. This view is consistent with feminist perspectives which give emphasis to strategies of resistance, coping and survival. The term survivor is seen as more constructive than victim and has been adopted by agencies working in the field of rape and sexual assault, most notably by Rape Crisis Centres. Further, there is evidence that the term 'survivor' is viewed as more useful than the term 'victim' in that few women wish to become or be seen as a 'victim' (Kelly 1988). This situation may be contrasted with positivist victimology which has viewed women who have experienced violence as victims who are frequently blamed for violent events. It is only fairly recently in relation to critical victimology that academics have recognised that women are involved in negotiating processes of powerlessness (Walklate 1994). The term victim is central to the organisation and work of Victim Support. Here, it might be suggested that agency definitions are so powerful and influential that recipients construct themselves as victims and that this is not a particularly helpful construction for the person who has experienced crime. Further, it may also be argued that the terms 'victim' or 'survivor' are not particularly useful for the person who has experienced crime since construction of self as a victim or survivor indicates that the person defines self in terms of the negative experience of the criminal event rather than moving beyond this experience. Thus perhaps concern should be with moving beyond both of these categories. While concern should be with powerful definitions of agencies and their

implications for sense making by the person who has experienced crime similar attention should be directed to the powerful processes of categorisation employed by academics. Only by developing theories and methods which indicate awareness of these relationships of influence upon victims' definitions of reality and how these are subject to change may one contribute to understanding the experience of victimisation further. On the basis of these comments, it may be suggested that an approach based upon the constructivist paradigm should be placed on the agenda for a critical victimology.

3.31 Evaluating victimology - problematic measurement, managerialism and the role of stakeholders

The discipline of victimology may be seen to rely upon the positivist paradigm and various arguments have been presented concerning the limitations of such an approach for understanding the experience of crime. These include overriding concern with objective measurement and the 'context stripping' nature of this kind of research (Guba and Lincoln 1994). This situation has been alleviated to a certain extent through the emergence of critical perspectives and the recognition of the need to develop a critical victimology. Here, attention was directed towards concern with political context through recognition of women's struggles against powerlessness. Here, there was little or no reference made to the role of the researcher in enabling these women's experiences of crime to be revealed. Further, it completely neglects the context of the research itself. Perhaps, the time has come to acknowledge that victimisation research may be seen to serve powerful interests and that this is deserving of immediate attention. It may be argued that victimisation research serves powerful interest groups, in particular, the interests of managers at the expense of the interests of other stakeholding interest groups including victims of crime. In relation to the evaluation process, Guba and Lincoln (1989) recognise that many evaluations are limited through an adherence to the scientific or positivistic paradigm with an orientation towards objective measurement and how this operates to neglect the value oriented and social and political context of research. Rather than regard evaluation as representing how something 'really is' perhaps it is more appropriate to view the criminal victimisation survey as a 'product'. Guba and Lincoln (1989) argue that the major limitation of evaluation research may be seen to derive from a tendency towards 'managerialism'. The research enterprise may be seen to include various individuals including managers, clients or sponsors of research who fund an evaluation as well as leadership personnel to whom the agents are responsible for

implementing the evaluation report. It is the manager with whom the evaluator contracts for an evaluation and to whom he or she defers in setting the boundaries for the research project. Guba and Lincoln (1989) note how the relationship between managers and evaluators is rarely challenged but contributes to a number of undesirable consequences. For example, the manager is viewed as standing outside the evaluation and thus his or her practices are unchallenged and he or she is not held accountable. The objectives of the client may be given priority over other stakeholders. Guba and Lincoln (1989) cite the example of the evaluation of alternative police procedures for intervening in domestic disputes which were based upon the criterion of reduced recidivism and how this helped to reduce paperwork and court appearances by the police rather than reduce wife battering which would have little effect on police workload. A further problem arises from the disempowering nature of the relationship between the manager and evaluator. It is the manager who decides which questions the evaluation will address. The manager may also influence the processes of data collection and the interpretation of data. It is the manager who will decide to whom the findings will be disseminated. By withholding information to 'stakeholders' the power of stakeholders are reduced. Although these tasks are often settled with the evaluator the final decision remains with the manager. This situation operates to disempower 'stakeholders' who may have other questions to be answered and may construct different interpretations. The relationship between manager and evaluator is characterised as 'disenfranchising'. It is the manager who has the contractual right to decide when findings are to be released. Thus 'stakeholders' are often unaware of the findings and this prevents them from taking action to protect their own interests. The relationship between manager and evaluator is extremely close and thus there is an opportunity for collusion between the manager and evaluator. From the manager's point of view an evaluation which constructs the manager as neutral is advantageous since it functions to disempower rivals. This may be contrasted with an evaluation which holds the manager as accountable and which may allow rivals an element of power. From the evaluator's point of view an evaluation which gains the managers approval may help to secure other contracts. The problem of 'managerialism' has been given extensive attention by Michael Scriven (1983) cited in Guba and Lincoln (1989) who suggests that the solution to this problem is to adopt a form of evaluation which asks questions of potential interest to the consumer and which reports to that group in a consumer report. Thus he recognises a group other than managers is important through adding the interests of consumers to the evaluation. Evaluation research which adheres to the positivistic or scientific paradigm stresses research which is of a value free nature.

Therefore, this type of research does not accommodate the values of the researcher. It does not address whose values are dominant or how different value positions might be negotiated. Therefore, evaluation can be viewed as a political act. It is the manager who defines the boundaries of research and determines questions asked and determines the methodology. Evaluation does not include the values of the researcher. Evaluation represents an over commitment to the scientific paradigm that there is an objective reality out there which is subject to certain laws. Science may be used to predict and control and help one reach a better understanding of reality. However, to understand reality one has to stand outside the phenomenon being studied. This type of evaluation uses the scientific paradigm to guide it's methodology. This has led to problems such as 'context stripping' in which the phenomenon under study is treated as if it did not exist in a context but only under controlled conditions. This functions to ignore local factors in favour of more generalisable results being obtained. Further, commitment to the scientific paradigm may be seen to rely almost entirely upon quantitative measurement. This helps with prediction and control. Scientific methods in providing information about the way 'things really are' are authoritative and therefore provide a sense of certainty. Finally, Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest that the scientific method rules out alternative explanations of the phenomenon. As science is supposed to be concerned with discovering the 'truth', alternatives explanations are viewed as mistaken. Thus, evaluators, clients and 'stakeholders' are seen as 'believers'. While reasonable alternatives may exist they are non negotiable. As science is value free, this relieves the evaluator of moral responsibility for their actions. A person cannot be blamed for providing the "facts". The evaluator is not held morally responsible for what emerges from the evaluation and the use to which it is put. In response to these problems, Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest an alternative approach to evaluation based upon the constructivist paradigm. This is referred to as "responsive constructivist evaluation". Whereas previously, the parameters and the boundaries of research were established by the client and the evaluator, this type of evaluation involves the boundaries of the research being set through an interactive, negotiated process involving all relevant stakeholding groups. The methodology has it's origins in the constructivist paradigm and is referred to as a 'hermeneutic dialectical process'. This methodology will be examined in greater detail later in this thesis.

3.4 The psychology of victimisation

The psychological literature contributes to an alternative construction of the victim since rather than view the victim as a passive object who is subject to blame emphasis is upon the cognitive processes, coping strategies and forms of risk assessment employed by victims of crime. The experience of victimisation may be seen to involve revision of the victims assumptions about the world. This literature may be seen to discourage victim blaming through emphasis upon risk assessment by the individual. In addition this literature may be seen to contribute to a more dynamic understanding of the experience of victimisation[3].

While references have been made to research concerning the effects of crime (Maguire and Corbett 1987) in the previous literature, this review will focus upon a psychological literature. In view of the dearth of psychological research concerning victimisation in this country analysis will be based upon a literature which is mainly of U.S. origin, in particular, the analysis of Kahn (1984). Therefore account should be taken of differences in the nature and extent of the problem of crime between these countries. For example, the magnitude of the problem of 'violent crime' in the U.S. as opposed to the U.K. This may account for the severity of reactions among victims documented in the following review of the literature. Although, such factors should be borne in mind, this literature provides a valuable contribution through providing an alternative construction concerning the victim of crime.

Reactions to victimisation

Researchers have become interested in people's reactions to victimisation in particular, the experience of rape (Janoff-Bulman 1979). Here, there is interest in the relationships between cognitions and emotional reactions. The interpersonal relationships and relationships between ones beliefs about the world and one's behaviour. In social psychology Lerner (1965) has suggested that people's behaviour is greatly influenced by the assumption that we live in a 'just world' and people get what they deserve. Lerner (1965) suggests that to maintain belief in 'just world' people require to blame victims. This type of research has focused upon how people react towards others who have been victimised. More recently researchers have become interested in how these assumptions might influence peoples reactions if they themselves are victimised. For instance, do people blame themselves to maintain their belief in a just world?

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[3] Wortman (1983) provides a useful summary of research which examines coping in relation to experiences of victimisation.

Research concerning personal control has received some attention. There has been some interest in looking at how the perceived ability to control an event may help explain processes of coping. This has been highlighted by theories of learned helplessness in which most of this research was conducted in the laboratory and which involved the exposure of subjects to shocks (Seligman 1978, 1975). However, it is unclear whether the experience of rape will alter a persons beliefs about the ability to control future outcomes. The presence of assumptions and beliefs that victims can influence or control outcomes may be important in the coping process.

A second area that has generated much attention is the impact of a persons attributions of causality for a victimising experience on subsequent coping and adjustment. It examines the relationship between self blame and coping and is suggestive of problems in circumstances where there is no one to blame.

Assumptions about the world

The assumptions held by victims may play a role in the coping process. These assumptions concern personal vulnerability (Perloff 1983), the assumption that the world is meaningful (Silver and Wortman 1980) the assumption that one is a competent and worthwhile person (Coates and Winston 1983) and the assumption that other people can be trusted (Scheppele and Bart 1983). Experience of the criminal event may operate to shatter these assumptions about the world (Scheppele and Bart 1983).

Other work has stressed how assumptions may influence reactions to victimisation. Assumptions about the world may influence one's behaviour prior to victimisation and may thus alter ones chances of being victimised. Women who perceived themselves as safe are more likely to change their perceptions of dangerousness (Scheppele and Bart 1983). Those people who feel vulnerable may be more likely to take a variety of precautionary behaviours. For instance, if one takes precautions and react to suspicious men with anger rather than fear they may be less likely to be raped (Scheppele and Bart 1983).

Attributions and other cognitions

The experience of criminal victimisation has profound psychological consequences, both immediate and in the longer term (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979) Research suggests that physical injury and financial loss may be of less importance than

psychological damage suffered by the victim (Bard and Sangrey 1979). The disruption of feelings and behaviour produced can range from short term to long term post traumatic stress disorder (Bard and Sangrey 1979; Maguire 1980). A number of explanations for these reactions to victimisation are revealed in the psychological literature. These theories focus upon stress and include the idea that stress results from violation of a central organising principle of personality (Bard and Sangrey 1979). Stress reactions are a result of a sense of inequity, perceived vulnerability or the perception of being deviant (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979; Maguire 1980). After stress reactions have been experienced the victim may attempt to cope. The variance in disruptions experienced by the victim may be related to the pre morbid adaptation of the victim (Symonds 1980). The meaning of the event and coping strategies employed may be determinants of the cognitive and affective aspects of coping. The reactions of others may be an important factor in coping (Bard and Sangrey 1979). There may be circumstances in which the victim may be adversely affected by the help they receive (Ryan 1971). For example, helpers may put forward their value-laden beliefs and make moral judgements about the victim (Coates, Wortman and Abbey 1979).

Researchers agree that the reactions of victims vary but follow a sequence. Various researchers have categorised these reactions into stages (Bard and Sangrey 1979; Burgess and Holmstrom 1979). The impact disorganisation phase (Bard and Sangrey 1979), which can be further subdivided into initial reaction of shock and disbelief and denial followed by a second stage characterised by fright in which the victim shows detachment from others. Researchers find evidence for similar symptoms. For example, the common immediate reactions of burglary victims is surprise or shock (Maguire 1980). Whereas anger, shock, disbelief, confusion, fear and anxiety are reported as some of the reactions of rape victim (Veronen, Kilpatrick and Resick 1979 cited in Kahn 1984). Krupnick (1980) notes that rape robbery and assault victims view themselves as weak, frightened helpless or out of control immediately after the attack. In relation to short-term reactions, rape victims may show shifts in feelings that range from confidence about their abilities to cope to feeling quite incompetent (Notman and Nadelson 1976 cited in Kahn 1984). During this stage victims may manifest fears about the rape itself (Kilpatrick, Veronen and Resick 1979; Burgess and Holmstrom 1978) focus on the short term reaction when describing 'rape trauma syndrome'. Their work indicates reactions which consist of an acute phase of disorganisation and a longer term reorganisation process. In the acute phase the victim may show a controlled (masked) or expressive style (anger,

fear, anxiety or crying) reactions. The long term reorganisation phase may start two or three weeks after the attack. This involves attempts at coping and behavioural changes such as changing one's phone number, experience of nightmares and seeking support from family and friends. Loss of identity and self respect may follow victimisation. Feelings of loss and rejection are quite common. Victims may experience loss of trust and autonomy (Bard and Sangrey 1979). Severe depression is common in rape victims (Frank, Turner and Duffy 1979 cited in Kahn 1984). Other behavioural reactions include crying, restlessness, increased use of drugs and deterioration in personal relationships. Victims of violence and property crime often express a need for retaliation soon after the crime has been committed (Smale and Spickenheuer cited in Kahn 1984). Victims may re-experience the event in the form of recurrent nightmares. Krupnick and Horowitz (1981) cited in Kahn (1984) note that most of the prominent themes expressed by personal injury and assault victims are fear of repetition of the event and feelings of responsibility along with rage at the source of the trauma. Personal reorganisation may occur which may be considered adaptive or maladaptive. In most victims there is a gradual diffusion of symptoms within six months of the event. However there may be a delayed post traumatic reaction (see Lindemann 1944). Although many crime victims are thought to resolve the trauma within six months to a year (Horowitz 1976; Salasin 1981), other crime victims experience chronic stress (Krupnik and Horowitz 1981 cited in Kahn 1984). Such reactions are recognised as general stress reactions. The more severely the crime violates the self-integrity of the individual the more likely a victim will yield to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

In relation to longer term reactions victims may find that as fear and anger lessen they may enter a stage of reorganisation. According to Simonds (1975, 1976) by the last stage victims establish more effective defensive and vigilant behaviour by revising their values and attitudes. Burgess and Holmstrom (1979) report that a number of rape victims did not feel that they had recovered from the attack four to six years after it had happened. Rich and Cohn (1982) report that service providers frequently mention low self-esteem, depression, guilt, fear and relationship difficulties as the most common long term difficulties experienced by victims. In this stage the victim may blame herself for her lack of attention to danger (Notman and Nadelson 1976 cited in Kahn 1984). Kirkpatrick, Resick and Veronen (1981) and Calhoun, Atkinson and Resick (1982) cited in Kahn 1984 reported that rape victims showed no significant decrease in symptoms one year after the rape as compared to 3-6 months after the rape.

Explaining the reactions of victims

The theories are all based on the premise that being criminally victimised is a stressful experience. One theory is that stressful reactions occur because the self is violated. Other explanations focus on feelings of inequity, vulnerability to additional victimisation and perceiving oneself as deviant (Kahn 1984).

A number of theories relate to victims reacting to victimisation as they would to other forms of stress or crisis (Sales, Baum and Shore 1984). In Spielberger's (1972) trait-state anxiety theory, the assumption is made that stressful conditions must be appraised as threatening in order to elicit an anxiety reaction. In this context a victim's subjective awareness and expectations of the stimulus event are crucial both to the likelihood of being victimised and the victim's perception as to whether to treat the crime as a stressful event. Bard and Sangrey (1979) point out that the prior characteristics that victims bring to the experience influence their reactions to victimisation. People with a life history of prior stresses have been found to be more vulnerable to maladaptive stress reactions. (Burgess and Holmstrom 1978; 1979; Symonds 1980) Certain groups are more susceptible than others to stress associated with victimisation. For example, women burglary victims who had been separated from their husbands by death or divorce are more likely to experience acute stress as a result of burglary of their homes (Maguire 1980). Lazarus and Cohen (1978 cited in Kahn 1984) view psychological stress as demands that tax or exceed available resources as perceived by the person involved and that focus on reciprocal causation.

> The environment is perceived and interpreted... leading to adaptive or coping processes arising out of the person's own personal agendas; the effects of these processes on the environment are also appraised and reacted to in an interplay whose status is constantly changing in continuous flow (p114).

According to this theory not only does the threatening situation influence the behaviour of a victim of crime, but also the behaviour of the victim is a factor in influencing the environment. Other theories of stress emphasise the interactional role between the individual and the situation (Sarason 1978). Dohrenwend (1978) presents a psycho social stress model in which 'life events' are viewed as functions of situational and psychological mediators. Situational mediators include material and social supports. Personal aspirations, values and coping abilities constitute psychological mediators. The importance of social support is reflected in the work of

Sales, Baum and Shore (1984) who found that long term reactions to rape are more positive in women who had good social support systems before the rape.

Violations of the self

Bard and Sangrey (1979) note that the central source of stress is the violation of the victim's self. Violation of the home, often considered an extension of oneself, is also quite stressful (Maguire 1980) More violent assaults lead to more negative reactions (Bard and Sangrey 1980). Krupnick (1980 cited in Kahn 1984)) employs a self-perspective in noting the type of victim who experiences extreme discomfort over vulnerability based on an unconscious expectation of personal authority and control. Becoming a victim diminishes an already weak self. Self image may be altered in a negative direction. One form of the self-perspective known as the self-in-conflict approach, refers to the victim who functions defensively in warding off inner conflict. In this instance the victimisation may reevoke earlier feelings of helplessness and vulnerability that have been previously defended against. According to Kohut (1977) such victims have consolidated self-structures but still experience conflict since the self has been subjected to a trauma that is similar to earlier crises in which the vulnerable self was forced to cope and readjust. Hymer (1984) focuses on the self from developmental and conflict perspectives. The more solid the sense of self, the less likely the victim will experience long-term self-fragmentation. The self-in-conflict occurs when victimisation forces the self to deal with the current crisis in lieu of erecting defences to ward it off. Lister (1982) notes that the victim may experience intimacy with the victimiser either by identifying with the aggressor or through gratitude at being spared. Cohn's (1974) work demonstrates the self-in-conflict approach in that robbery is viewed as a crisis in which earlier conflicts are reactivated. In such instances the self may undergo regression and neurotic trends. Symonds (1975 1976) also underscores regressive elements in victimisation in which the self in conflict defends against society by returning to an earlier state of compliance and dependence on the assailant. Bard and Sangrey (1979) conceptualise crimes in relation to the level of self-violation, with rape constituting the most serious violation of self. The strengths of a victims defences determine to a large extent how well the self-in-conflict copes with and adapts to the stress of victimisation.

Self blame

Victims may see themselves or others as responsible. There is a tendency for victims to blame themselves for their victimisation (Coates, Wortman and Abbey 1979;

Frieze 1979) It is common for victims of unprovoked sexual assaults to take personal responsibility for the crime (Frieze 1979; Janoff-Bulman 1979) On the basis of attribution theory seeing oneself as responsible for one's victimisation would appear to be quite maladaptive. However, such self-blame can be quite functional for the victim. This especially true if the self-blame is behavioural rather than characterological (Janoff-Bulman 1979). Characterological self-blame involves attributing one's victimisation to aspects of one's personality. Janoff-Bulman found that rape victims who made characterological attributions saw the rapes as more deserved. Thus these women saw themselves as not the only types of women who get raped but also the types of people who should be raped. Those victims who attributed their rape to behavioural factors were more confident about avoiding future rapes. By seeing their actions or behaviours as being responsible they were able to take control of the event psychologically. To avoid future victimisation they would act differently. Janoff-Bulman (1982) found that behavioural self-blame is associated with high self-esteem and the perception of the avoidability of subsequent victimisation. A similar concept of 'agenda control' has been proposed by Peterson and Seligman (1983). An individual with agenda control feels that he or she has control over the planning choosing and changing of contingencies in his or her life. In the absence of agenda control, the individual feels helpless or powerless. However those with an internal locus of control which is exaggerated may experience stress in trying to alter circumstances of uncontrollable events (Wortman 1976). The degree of self-blame experienced by a victim appears to be related to personality factors in the victim and to the characteristics of the crime. Battered women were more likely to blame themselves if they had grown up in a violent family, if they already had low self esteem and their violent husbands had good jobs (Frieze 1980). The severity of the violence may also affect self-blame. Less self blame may occur when violence is more severe. Less self-blame was reported by rape victims who received serious injuries as a consequence of the rape (Baker and Peterson 1977) It is important to understand that self blame is not always maladaptive but can be functional through providing a measure of control over the victimising experience (Wortman 1976).

Redefining the situation

Whether or not an individual perceives himself as a victim depends in part upon cognitive appraisal of the event which in turn will lead to the victim minimising or maximising or nullifying the situation as an instance of victimisation. Cognitive appraisal involves attaching meaning to the crime stressors and these processes have cognitive, perceptual and emotional components (see Lazarus 1966). The appraisal of

an event is not simply perception of the elements of a situation but involves the organisation of data resulting in a decision-making by the victim. In Scheppele and Bart's (1983) study of rape although all the women were technically victims of acts classified as rape 48 of the 49 women who were asked to perform sexual acts other than sexual intercourse defined themselves as escaping rape. Taylor, Wood and Lichtman (1983 cited in Kahn 1984) have identified a number of processes by which victims redefine their victimisation. People will tend to compare their situation with those less fortunate (Gruder 1977). By comparing themselves with another victim who had suffered more, rape victims were able to build their own self esteem (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979). Rape victims made reference to the possibility that they could have been killed or subjected to much more humiliating circumstances than occurred (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979). The experience of victimisation may be minimised by reconstructing the event as leading to personal growth or some other benefit.

Risk Perception

It may be argued that what people do about crime is largely a consequence of personal experience. However, the relationship between what people think and do is problematic. Although people may assess risk or perceive threat people do not necessarily avoid danger. It has been suggested that some people strike a balance between the risks faced and the costs of reducing those risks. This assumes a cost-benefit analysis on the part of the individual. Further explanations about behaviour have been sought which emphasise the personal experience and information processing abilities of the person. The Health Belief Model is one such example (Rosenstock (1966) cited in Fattah 1986: 182). This model seeks to explain why some people protect themselves and others do not. The model stresses three factors in explaining why people protect themselves and predicting who will and will not. Those factors are risk, seriousness and efficacy (Lavrakas 1980 cited in Fattah 1986). The first component is concerned with the perception of risk or probability of an event occurring or 'susceptibility'. The second factor deals with perceived severity of the event. Finally, actions are evaluated on the basis of their efficacy. According to this model, people are more likely to take action if they think it will reduce or prevent a problem. The Health Belief Model is a rational cognitive model of individual decision making about behaviour. It hypothesises that people are motivated to act by a concern with lowering their risk where serious consequences are perceived or when they think it is likely to help. Mendelsohn (1981) found one factor above all others to explain the number and frequency of crime prevention

actions - perceived vulnerability. This was a strong indicator of taking precautions against personal crime. Lavrakas (1980) also found risk, seriousness and efficacy to be related to individual behavioural restrictions. In Lavrakas study beliefs about efficacy were strong correlates of individual precautions while these were strongly linked to household protection. Thus the major theoretical contribution of the Health Belief Model is in the sphere of crime prevention. Finally, Skogan (1986) recognises the relationship between what people think and feel about crime and what they do about crime is a problematic relationship may be understood as a political problem since what people do may be largely a consequence of the opportunities available to them. These opportunities are derived from the options, environment and resources that are available to people and are to be recognised as a important element in influencing individual reactions to crime.

In contrast to previous literature, the literature concerning the psychology of victimisation contributes towards an alternative construction of the victim of crime. Rather than view the victim as a passive object which is subject to blame it gives emphasis to cognitive process of the victim and coping strategies developed to deal with the experiences of victimisation. While self blame of a balanced kind can be functional for the victim, blaming by others is averted through an emphasis upon risk assessment. This literature, rather than view the victim as static views the experience of victimisation as of a more dynamic nature. This literature may be viewed as contributing to a more sophisticated construction of the victim. However, to address the constructions of victims will involve employment of a methodology responsive to the categories or constructions of the victim of crime. This may involve a shift from quantitative approaches towards employment of more qualitative approaches.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter showed how the victim of crime has been constructed by academics. These constructions may be viewed as fairly unsophisticated through adherence to the positivist paradigm. Major preoccupations have been with the identification of the 'causes' of victimisation and concern with classification and categorisation of victims on the basis of their characteristics and behaviour. Concern with the role of the victim in precipitating the criminal event may be seen to contribute towards discourses of victim blaming. Further explanations were provided by the lifestyle and routine activities of the victim. Concern with providing more accurate measures of crime led to the introduction of the criminal victimisation surveys. The experience of

crime as an objective and measurable phenomena may be seen as problematic providing a limited understanding of the victim's experience of crime. It ignores meanings constructed by the respondent and the context in which these meanings are constructed. Critical perspectives have contributed towards the recognition of political context although there remains a need for critical examination of the use of the term victim and involvement of the researcher in powerful processes of categorisation. The chapter showed how victimology has neglected that victimisation research may be viewed as serving the interests of the powerful, in particular, the interests of managers at the expense of the interests of other stakeholding interest groups including victims. It was suggested that perhaps a constructivist approach might provide a more constructive alternative for understanding the experience of crime. In response to the simplistic constructions concerning the victim of crime an alternative construction is provided by the literature concerning the psychology of victimisation. In contrast to previous accounts which view the victim as a reified object and frequently subject to blame, this literature emphasises the cognitive processes and, in particular, the coping strategies developed by victims of crime as a consequence of experience of crime. While the relationship between the cognitive processes and the behaviour of the victim are recognised as problematic this approach contributes to a shift from the tendency of previous approaches which contribute towards blaming. This literature also demonstrates the dynamic nature of the experience of crime. It also contributes to directing attention towards concern with the constructions of the victim. To achieve this will necessarily involve a departure from quantitative techniques which subject the experiences of the victim to categorisation. To capture the constructions of victims will involve the employment of more qualitative techniques sensitive to the categories employed by victims. The following chapter examines an approach which may help with the elicitation and exploration of the constructions of victims of crime and their dynamic nature.

PART II RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER 4

TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ALTERNATIVE METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodology chosen to address the constructions of victims of crime. In particular, this chapter examines the repertory grid tool. This will involve a brief overview of the theory from which the technique is derived (Kelly 1995). The theory, while not of central importance may be seen to be of particular interest in relation to the criminal event since it relies upon a mechanism of 'anticipation' in which the individual constructs and reconstructs their view of their world as a consequence of new information gained from new experiences. The chapter will show how the repertory grid tool not only assists with the elicitation of personal constructs but how the interactive method contributes to a more equal relationship between researcher and victim. The chapter examines previous and diverse applications of the repertory grid tool. The chapter considers use of the method in relation to the current study in which the technique is applied to understand the experiences of rape and housebreaking. The rationale for the sample is explained by reference to a literature which shows how previous research has categorised experiences of rape and housebreaking as discrete and separate on account of the former being classified as a violent crime and the latter, a property crime. It also shows how victimisation research relies to a large extent upon the employment of quantitative techniques. The aforementioned may be seen to obscure the categories of victims. For the purpose of this study grid elicitation is facilitated through an interactive computer programme. Beyond this, the chapter shows how the methodology which seems on the face of it to be qualitative in nature involves a quantitative dimension and how the quantitative dimension assists with the interpretation of the data. Finally, the chapter critically considers the extent to which repertory grid may be considered a reflexive methodology.

4.2 Constructive alternativism

Kelly likens the individual to a 'personal scientist' who seeks to predict and control events. The person aims to predict and control the events with which he is involved through the testing and elaboration of theories. In representing the environment, the person can place alternative constructions upon it. Thus people represent their world

in different ways and this is a product of past and present experiences. The constructions chosen will be those which provide most 'predictive efficiency'. The world is open to different interpretations with different people construing it in different ways. These constructions are subject to reconstruction. Some alternative ways of construing are better for the person's purposes than others. Thus the person understands their world through 'successive approximations'. With a variety of alternatives to choose from, a person need not become a victim of their previous history or present circumstances. The individual represents his or her environment and builds construct systems with which to view the real world. Although these construct systems are biased they are real in the phenomenological sense. Constructs are arranged hierarchically into systems which are subject to testing and help the person anticipate the course of events with which they are involved. The testing of constructs determines whether constructs are retained, revised or replaced.

An important aspect of this position is that no construction is ever definitive or final as all of our current interpretations of the world are subject to revision or replacement. The theory stresses that the individual learns from experience and revises his or her ideas in a dynamic environment. Thus, the person need not become a victim of their 'biography'[1].

4.3 Personal Construct Theory

Based upon these philosophical assumptions of constructive alternativism, Kelly derived the basic statement upon which the rest of the theory is built. This is known as the fundamental postulate.

> *A person's processes will be psychologically channelised by the ways in which he anticipates events.*

Here, concern here is with understanding the individual. Emphasis is upon the dynamic nature of the individual. Events do not have meanings and classifications since systems of meanings and classifications are constructed by the person. The function of the individual is to anticipate events.

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[1] For an overview of the philosophical assumptions and Personal Construct Theory see Open University (1984).

Kelly stated personal construct theory in the form of the fundamental postulate and eleven corollaries but before listing the corollaries it is essential to establish what is meant by the term 'personal construct'. By 'construing', Kelly meant 'placing an interpretation'.

A definition of a construct is provided by Bannister and Mair (1968: 50):

> *A construct is a way in which some things are interpreted as being alike and at the same time different from other things.*

A construct is an invention. It differentiates between two contrasts or poles . The constructs are personal insofar as each individual imposes his or her interpretation upon the world and construes it that way.

The basic assumptions of Personal Construct Theory are explicitly enshrined in the fundamental postulate and elaborated further in eleven corollaries:

1. *Construction corollary.* A person anticipates events by construing their replications.
2. *Individuality corollary.* Persons differ from each other in their constructions of events.
3. *Organisation corollary.* Each person characteristically evolves, for their convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs.
4. *Dichotomy corollary.* A person's construction system is composed of a finite number of dichotomous constructs.
5. *Choice corollary.* A person chooses for himself that alternative in a dichotomised construct through which they anticipate the greater possibility for extension and definition of his system.
6. *Range corollary.* A construct is convenient for the anticipation of a finite range of events only.
7. *Experience corollary.* A person's construction system varies as he successively construes the replication of events.
8. *Modulation corollary.* The variation in a person's construction system is limited by the permeability of the constructs within whose range of convenience the variants lie.
9. *Fragmentation corollary.* A person may successively employ a variety of construction systems which are inferentially incompatible with each other.

10. *Commonality corollary*. To the extent that one person employs a construction of experience which is similar to that employed by another, his psychological processes are similar to those of the other person.
11. *Sociality corollary*. To the extent that one person construes the construction processes of another, he may play a role in a social process involving the other person.

It is useful to examine these corollaries in more detail. The construction corollary refers to how the experience of an event may enable one to construe a similar event when it occurs. It is the similarity of events which is central to the idea of replications in the construction corollary and which assists with making sense of our world. Kelly uses the example of listening to music. A melody can be played on different instruments yet the recurrent melodic theme remains recognisable. On the basis of these recurrent themes the person discovers the basis of similarities and differences. Once an event has been given it's beginning and end, and the similarities and differences construed, it is possible to engage in prediction. Thus the person anticipates events by construing their *replications.*

A second corollary which deals with the anticipatory nature of constructs is the range corollary. Constructs have a limited range of convenience and thus a construct may help one anticipate a limited range of events. Kelly uses the example of the construct short-tall (1955: 69). He demonstrates how 'houses', 'people' and 'trees' fall within the range of convenience of the construct tall-short but how 'weather' 'light' and 'fear' do not. A personal construct has a focus and a range of convenience like a system or theory. It is possible for one person to use a construct broadly to apply to a variety of interpersonal relationships and another to use a construct to apply to a limited range of events.

An important feature of the personal construct is the dimension of similarity-contrast. The Open University (1984) show how the construct, respect-contempt can be thought of as two discrete concepts in which the assumption is that everything which the individual does not construe as respect is irrelevant to the use of the concept. However, with a personal construct separates the contrasting from the irrelevant. Contempt conveys something about respect whereas happiness does not. A construct separates the contrasting from the irrelevant whereas a concept does not.

The similarity-contrast dimension is central to the dichotomy corollary. The occurrence of a third event which is different will cause a person to determine what is similar and what is contrasting between this and previous events. A construct allows for things being interpreted as alike and at the same time different from other things (Mair 1968: 13).

While the aforementioned corollaries have stressed the anticipatory and dichotomous nature of constructs the corollaries which follow stress the personal nature of construing. The individuality corollary recognises that similar events are construed very differently among individuals.

The individuality corollary is a reference to how the same event can be construed very differently. This corollary recognises that people differ from each other not merely because of differences in the events which they have sought to anticipate but because there are different ways of anticipating the same events. Individuals may differ in the way they perceive or interpret a situation. Each person views their own situation through the lenses of their personal construct system.

The personal nature of construing is asserted further by the way in which people organise their constructions of events. Each person develops a hierarchical system of constructs which differs for each person. According to the organisation corollary, ordinal relationships between constructs indicate that a construct may be embraced by another construct as one of its elements. Therefore constructs are interrelated and this is important for the anticipation of events since a system of prediction will require more than one construct.

Behaviour is based upon the alternative that the individual chooses from each construct. According to the choice corollary the individual will choose the alternative which seems to be most efficient in allowing them to anticipate future events. This involves a process of defining and extending one's construct system referred to by Kelly as the process of 'elaboration'.

Personal Construct theory accommodates change under three corollaries, the experience, modulation and fragmentation corollaries. Life experience teaches one about the usefulness of these choices. Circumstances may require restructuring of constructs. This is given expression in the experience corollary. Restructuring of constructs prevents one becoming a victim of one's past. There are parallels with the

concept of learning by experience. Kelly views learning not as a separate topic but built into the structure of the experience corollary. When the person restructures the meanings he has placed on the world according to his experience, there is an assumption that learning has taken place. However, not everybody benefits from experience or revises their constructs when these are shown to be ineffective.

The modulation corollary introduces the construct permeable-impermeable to account for limitations of change in the individuals construct system. New events can be included in the range of convenience of a permeable construct. This is not possible with an impermeable construct. Permeability of a construct refers to the capacity of a construct to embrace new elements. The Open University (1984) uses the example of light and the construct fluorescent-incandescent to show how this is an impermeable construct since it is unlikely to be able to embrace new elements. The construct good-bad is a permeable construct because it's range of convenience is capable of extension.

The fragmentation corollary also involves change. The Open University (1984) use the example of a fathers' actions towards his child. A father may smack a child, kiss a child and ignore a child and while these behaviours may seem incompatible and difficult to anticipate by viewing the father's constructs which led to the above behaviour as subsystems within a super ordinate construct concerning love, then the changes in behaviour are far from inconsistent but may be viewed as three examples about how love governs the fathers behaviour. Construct systems can therefore be viewed as a series of subsystems.

This brings one to a consideration about the extent to which individuals can be compared. Here it is important to emphasise that it is not that two individuals have experienced 'the same' event but it is their '*constructions*' of these events which are similar. Two people can be similar as indicated by the commonality corollary but not identical because of the personal nature of construing. The person is viewed as an 'active interpreter' (Viney 1986). For interpersonal understanding, it is essential that the other person construes the other person's perspective. It is not the examination of anothers behaviour which is important, but construing his or her construction process. Kelly (1955) illustrates this point using the example of driving. It is possible to construe what other people are thinking and to predict what other drivers will do. This is achieved through people predicting the behaviour of others by subsuming each others perception of a situation. We know little about the

higher motives of drivers. It is adequate for the purposes of avoiding collisions that we subsume certain aspects of their construction systems.

4.4 A theory of thinking-feeling and the 'personal scientist'

Whereas traditional psychological theories are divided into cognition and emotion Kelly does not find that dichotomy particularly useful. His theory of the person accommodates both cognition and emotion. Of particular interest is the way in which Kelly conceptualises emotion as 'resistance to change'. He refers to specific constructs including anxiety, hostility, guilt, threat, fear and aggressiveness and defines them all as aspects of construct systems in a state of change. His definitions of the emotions are as follows: Anxiety is defined as an awareness that the events with which one is confronted lie outside the range of convenience of one's construct system. Hostility is the continued effort to demand validational evidence in favour of a type of social prediction which has already been recognised as a failure. Guilt is the awareness of detachment of the self from one's core role structure. Threat is the awareness of an imminent comprehensive change in one's core structures. Fear is the awareness of an imminent incidental change in one's core structures. Aggressiveness is the active elaboration of one's perceptual field. Fear of crime then would be seen as the awareness of an imminent change in one's core structures. However, although Kelly includes emotion, much of his work gives emphasis to cognition or thinking through the individual reflecting upon and making sense of their experiences. These tensions are highlighted by Kelly's concept of the 'personal scientist' with the rationality of the scientist and claims to scientific knowledge prevailing.

4.5 The 'personal scientist' and the production of scientific knowledge

At first there may seem to be a contradiction between the personal and knowledge since true knowledge is deemed to be objective or impersonal. It may be argued that the personal and knowledge are fused together as in 'personal knowledge' (Polanyi 1975). It is useful to investigate how Kelly's concept of the 'personal scientist' relates to previous investigations of scientific knowledge. Kelly's epistemology may be seen as similar to Popper's account of the production of scientific knowledge (Popper 1959; Popper 1963). Kelly for one emphasises the person as scientist. Both Kelly and Popper proceed on the basis of the construction of theory as opposed to observation. Knowledge is based upon hypothesis formation, testing and prediction. In Kelly's case the bipolar constructs can be viewed as oppositional hypotheses. A

theory is considered better if it has broader and more precise predictions, and therefore more open to falsification. Knowledge proceeds on the basis of better or worse theories. Both Kelly and Popper's accounts rely upon subjective invalidation of hypotheses. To recognise that something 'unexpected' has happened, the system would require to have foreseen every 'unexpected event' in order to appreciate it. Both Kelly and Popper agree on the notion of reliance upon a conceptual framework and both agree that this can be overridden. Thus the person need not be imprisoned in their current framework but create a new and better one suited to the needs of the situation (Mancini and Semerari 1988). Kelly recognises the importance of context and, in particular, the values of the person through the concept of 'constructive alternativism' and the idea that the beliefs of the person will be subject to revision. Kelly's theory may also be seen to take account of the values of the scientist through his prescription concerning the 'good scientist' bringing their constructs up for testing as soon as possible (Walker 1992). However, he does not examine how the values of the researcher may influence the constructions of respondents. Kelly recognises context insofar as constructions are made in the context of previous constructions. He recognises that change in constructions will depend upon the availability of information or the presence of threat. Kelly's theory may be viewed as similar to Kuhn's (1970) work insofar as it gives emphasis to the 'paradigm'. However, Kelly's work differs from Kuhn insofar as his theory does not take account of the influential role of social context upon construction whereas Kuhn (1970) recognises the powerful influence of the 'community of experts' and social processes upon the individual scientist. Kelly's theory recognises the importance of reflexivity in relation to how the individual understands events. In all accounts concerning the production of scientific knowledge emphasis is given to knowledge production as a circular process involving reflexivity on the part of the scientist. For some, reflexivity is concerned with checking out the real world (Bloor 1976). For constructivists, like Kelly, reflexivity is of vital importance since it is important to check out the world which has been 'constructed' and lay bare the involvement of the researcher in the knowledge production process. Ashmore (1989) provides an amusing account of how scholars require to manage the problem of the reflexive and self referential character of their work. In an innovative account, he shows how problems concerning reflexivity are particularly acute in the sociology of scientific knowledge. It has become increasingly common for analyses to focus upon deconstructions of research practices and textual products of the scientific venture. Ashmore provides a thorough analysis of the practices and products of the sociology of scientific knowledge and turns it's claims back on itself opening up a new

territory rather than as is more commonly referred to as a situation leading to the generation of concerns about reflexive self destruction. Further, his work deals with it's own reflexivity through parodying upon the production of his work as a doctoral thesis.

4.6 'Anticipation' and the criminal event

The notion of anticipation in relation to understanding the criminal event is not new. In fact, previous literature shows how it has been at the centre of debates stemming from claims that the fear of crime problem may be viewed as over anticipation of the criminal event. Criminal victimisation surveys showed how fear of crime was disproportionate to the actual risks of victimisation. Hence, crime was anticipated more than it was experienced and thus how fear of crime particularly among women was regarded as an 'irrational fear'. These surveys were subject to criticism since due to the undifferentiated nature of criminal victimisation surveys they were unable to show how crime was a real problem for some sections of the population. The surveys were unable to show differential vulnerability of certain groups of people in inner cities and working class areas. Certainly, problems are seen to arise from treating crime as objective and measurable rather than as a subjective phenomenon. For example, it is difficult to speak of a 'rational fear'. Little account is taken of the event meaning different things to different people in different circumstances. The left realists sought to show how these fears had some real basis. Using the local survey the left realists revealed differential vulnerability in inner cities and working class areas. Their claims about taking issues as victims define them seriously may not have been realised through utilisation of a positivistic quantitative method. These fears may have some rational basis through being grounded in human experience. This is supported by feminist studies which reveal higher incidence of victimisation (Stanko 1989). It was suggested that to understand the fear of crime perhaps one has to move beyond debates about the rationality or irrationality of crime. Anyway, what does a 'rational fear' look like? Fear of crime is a complex issue. It may be argued that to understand the fear of crime problem one has to understand the event from the victim's point of view in the context of their 'lived experience' (Ellis and Flaherty 1992). To do so will involve a move towards the use of qualitative techniques which reveals reality as constructed and understood by the victim of crime.

Expectations of the criminal justice system

It may be argued that arguments concerning anticipation are also of relevance for understanding the victim's decision to invoke the criminal justice process. This is supported by the work of Ziegenhagen (1976) who uses motivation theory and in particular the concept of 'expectancy' to understand victim responses to the criminal event. While the 1988 British Crime Survey cites the major reason for not reporting crime is a function of the belief that the crime was insufficiently serious (Mayhew 1989), to a lesser extent, reasons for not reporting may be based upon negative expectations of the police and the criminal justice system. These expectations may be based upon previous experiences of the police and criminal justice system. The decision to report may also be based upon the expectation of insurance or compensation. These beliefs may be based upon direct or indirect experience. The decision to report may provide a means of validating or invalidating one's beliefs about the seriousness of the problem or alternatively one's views about agencies and the criminal justice system itself. These expectations may be subject to revision as a consequence of subsequent agency contact. It can be argued that victim decision-making may be understood as involving a process of expectation or anticipation.

Kelly's definition of 'anticipation' focuses upon the cognitive processes by which individuals create sets of personal constructs with which to predict or anticipate events in the world and how these are subject to revision upon new experiences. It may be argued that no construct system can possibly foresee every event and therefore the existing system will require to be elaborated to provide a system of increased predictive efficiency. Kelly's concept of 'anticipation' may be of particular interest in relation to understanding the criminal event since it may be argued that the criminal event is of an unexpected quality and therefore revision of the existing construct system will be necessary. Elaboration of existing construct system may be expected in circumstances where the person is victimised by a friend or someone with whom they believed they had a relationship characterised by trust and or security. Kelly's theory emphasises the elaboration of meanings by the individual as a consequence of new experiences, however, it may be argued that the criminal event which is frequently unexpected or unforeseeable in nature, will function in such a way that the person may experience difficulties in elaborating their system.

4.7 The rational individual and the construction of 'risk'

Kelly's theory assumes a view of the individual as rational. He assumes that new experiences will lead to more elaborate constructions. However, not all people are rational and will learn from their experiences. Further, the links between cognitions and behaviour is a difficult issue. It should be noted that just because the individuals personal construct system changes as a consequence of experience of the event there is no guarantee that the person will change their behaviour. Kelly's theory does recognise the inherent riskiness of testing constructs. Further, he recognises that certain conditions including lack of information and the presence of threat may operate in such a way that the person may avoid testing and revising their constructs. However, his theory which gives emphasis to elaboration may be viewed as promoting risk-taking over risk avoidance. In relation to the criminal event it may be expected that the person will construct their world as more risky as a consequence of the criminal event. Further, just because the person constructs a situation as risky is no guarantee that the person will avoid such situations. Although elaboration is to be encouraged in relation to the criminal event, circumstances of threat or lack of information may influence the person to avoid testing and elaborating their construct system. There is no reason why Kelly's theory might not be seen to accommodate the role of 'vicarious experience' in processes of construction. For example, information gained from the media may influence revision of existing construct system. However, Kelly's theory may be seen as underestimating the role of social processes in the construction of risk (see Beck 1992; Giddens 1990; Giddens 1991). Further, these sources may inform and influence construction prior to the criminal event and this may contribute to understanding the contemporary problem concerning the fear of crime. With some exceptions noted above, Kelly's theory may be seen to contribute to a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the experience of crime although in relation to the current study the principal concern is with the repertory grid tool.

4.8 The repertory grid tool

The repertory grid was designed to elicit personal constructs so that the content and interrelationships of constructs within the person's personal construct system could be established and thus the way he or she sees the world established. More recently, repertory grids have been elicited independently of the theory and this may go some way to explaining why constructs are often 'supplied' by the researcher rather than 'elicited' from the respondent. This may allow comparison of construing to take

place. Constructs can be elicited by a variety of methods. Constructs may be elicited by a process known as self characterisation where the person is invited to write a story about themselves as if written by an intimate friend (Bannister and Fransella 1971: 57-60). More recently, constructs have been elicited from conversations or narratives. This technique has been used to develop better understanding of the meaning of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (Viney and Bousfield 1991). A common procedure for construct elicitation involves triadic or dyadic elicitation (Thomas and Harri-Augstein 1985; Fransella and Banister 1977). Triadic elicitation involves eliciting constructs from random groups of three elements. The elements may be objects, people or events. Random groups of three elements are presented before the respondent and the person is requested to distinguish which two are similar and which is different giving reasons for these decisions. In this way the pole and contrast of the construct are elicited. Dyadic elicitation follows a similar process whereby the respondent makes distinctions using random sorts of two elements. The respondent is then asked to rate each element on the construct. In this way relations between elements and relations between constructs can be established.

4.9 The mathematical analysis of the repertory grid

The analysis of repertory grids relies upon factor analysis. This approach may be seen to contribute to an 'orderly simplification' of a number of interrelated measures (Child 1990). According to Child (1990) factor analysis may be viewed as a way of making sense from the disorder of the environment. It is common practice for one to make sense of experience on the basis of classification concerning similarities and differences. To some extent one may also rely upon the recurrence of events. Examples of this can be found in the medical sphere where the recurrence of symptoms helps with the construction of a cluster of symptoms and the subsequent identification of a syndrome (Child 1990).

Factor analysis is a set of techniques designed to account for correlations among a set of variables in terms of a few underlying dimensions or factors (Kerlinger 1986: 569-595). The assumption is that the mathematical factors represent latent variables i.e. psychological dimensions. It involves three stages (Kinnear and Gray (1994). Firstly, a matrix of correlation coefficients is generated for all possible variable combinations. From the correlation matrix, factors are extracted. The most common method is called principal factors often referred to as Principal Components Analysis (Dunteman 1989). The factors are rotated to maximise the relationships between the

variables and some of the factors. The most common method is varimax which maintains independence among the mathematical factors. Geometrically this means axes remain orthogonal i.e. they are kept at right angles during rotation. For the purpose of the current project a two factor analysis was chosen since it was considered helpful in relation to the interpretation of data through plotting the data along two orthogonal axes.

A further technique which can be used to group variables is known as cluster analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984). These methods do not have the same rigour as factor analysis which relies upon a correlation coefficient as a measure of similarity. In cluster analysis, techniques for producing estimates of proximity involve distance measures based upon Euclidean geometry. There are several techniques for carrying out a cluster analysis including the popular hierarchical clustering techniques. The outcomes of these methods may be represented diagrammatically and are known as dendrograms. It is important to recognise that cluster analysis relies to a larger extent upon subjective judgement and less on upon statistical analysis than factor analysis[2].

Repertory grids not only reveal the system of categories of an individual but can reveal organisation or lack of organisation in a person's personal construct system. This is indicated in mathematical terms. Looseness of construing is shown by the fact that mathematical relationships between the constructs are low and the patterns of relationships between the constructs are unstable over time. On the other hand, tightness of constructs indicated by mathematical relationships which are high, indicates rigidity. Looseness in construing may be explained as resulting from processes of invalidation while rigidity may be viewed as a consequence of processes of invalidation. For example, the construct systems of persons suffering from the condition of schizophrenia are characterised by looseness which may be viewed as consistent with their a condition characterised by disorganised thought (Bannister 1963; Bannister 1965). There has been considerable theorising concerning the origins of this condition in the family (Laing and Esterson 1964). In relation to this it has been suggested that looseness in construing may be attributed to processes of invalidation as a consequence of dynamics within the family (Bannister and Fransella 1971). It is of interest to note that more recently, Kelly's theory has been used to explain the family as a system in relation to change (Dallos 1990). The above contributes further to recognition of the presence of tensions or conflict within

[2] See Child (1990) for a brief yet comprehensive account of the issues concerning factor analysis.

families and how these are resolved through the identification of a family member as a problem or scapegoat (Douglas 1995). In relation to processes of tightening and loosening it is important to make a distinction between the processes as articulated above and the tightening-loosening processes which may occur when people are coping with change. Constructs may be loosened just before the change occurs and tightened after (Bannister and Fransella 1971).

4.10 Measures of reliability and validity

In conventional tests measures of reliability and validity are viewed as important. On application of these criteria one would expect identical scores for same subjects on all occasions. According to Kelly reliability is 'a measure of the extent to which a test is insensitive to change'. As his theory emphasises change, it may be argued that reliability is unimportant. The concept of reliability may be viewed as inappropriate since there is no single form of repertory grid due to the presence of different constructs and elements. Bannister and Fransella (1971) note how two studies have found that there is strong element of consistency in the constructs elicited from an individual on different occasions (Hunt 1951; Fjeld and Landfield 1961). A degree of consistency in the constructs elicited from an individual on different occasions by the same grid method might be expected since the dichotomy corollary states that there are a finite number of dichotomous constructs. Bannister and Mair (1968: 158) recognise that grids involve exploring a limited repertoire of constructs and thus there is no need for concern about being confronted with the never-ending pages of a 'personal dictionary'.

4.11 Previous applications of repertory grid

The repertory grid tool has been employed in a wide variety of applications. In studies which referred to Kelly over 95% of 800 used the grid (Neimeyer 1985). However, repertory grids have been used without reference to the theory principally in the areas of education and learning (Thomas and Harri-Augstein 1985; Harri-Augstein and Thomas 1991), psycho diagnostic applications, in particular, those relating to the understanding and treatment of eating disorders (Button 1993) but also those relating to understanding and effecting change in offending behaviour (Chin-Keung 1988). However, repertory grids have also been used to examine decision-making in the business environment (Stewart and Stewart 1981; Jankowitz 1990) and

residential decision making (Anderson 1989). It is of value to examine the various uses to which the technique has been put particularly in relation to the areas of education and learning and in psycho diagnostic applications where the aim is to understand and change behaviour through encouragement with the elaboration of alternative constructs. A particular focus of this analysis will be with attempts to understand offending and encouragement to effect change in construing among offenders.

Education and learning

Repertory grids have been used to show how teachers saw pupils not in terms of their academic ability but in terms of their personality (Nash 1973). Research has also shown how teachers attitudes influence the performance of pupils in school. Teachers were seen to view their students in terms of their work routines and classroom behaviour. Thus constructs elicited were connected with personality rather than their ability. Comparing grids between teachers was difficult due to the personal nature of construct systems. Beyond this, a major contribution to the sphere of education and learning has been the 'self organised learning approach' (Thomas and Harri-Augstein 1985). The focus of this approach is the 'learning conversation' in which learners are encouraged to reconstruct their learning experiences (Harri-Augstein and Thomas 1991). 'Learning conversations' function to raise awareness enabling students to become more self organised and effective. This research enterprise has pioneered the development of conversational technology and knowledge about human learning.

Clinical applications

Repertory grid technique has been used widely in the clinical context to help identify and treat disordered construing. Research concerning schizophrenia has shown how the construct systems of those with schizophrenia are characterised by looseness. (Bannister 1959). Intervention by the clinician can bring about more adaptive construing. Research has been carried out in relation to eating disorders of anorexia nervosa and obesity (Button 1993). This has revealed negative or distorted construing in relation to body image. In these circumstances intervention would aim to encourage elaboration of alternative constructions of self.

Deviance and offenders

The technique has been used extensively by clinical psychologists in relation to the examination and treatment of deviance and offending behaviour. Here behaviour which may be regarded as incomprehensible to the outsider may seem more when the

world is viewed from the point of view of the person. For example, recent studies using repertory grid have sought to understand the phenomenon of sexual involvement with children by establishing how adults construe their actions and make sense of their sexual experiences. A central focus is the conversation in which the respondent is encouraged to provide his own account of sexual involvement with children. This research reveals how intimate relationships with children provide the adult with a reason for existence (Chin Keung 1988). This research which seeks to promote understanding of adult-child sexual involvement may attract public criticism on the grounds of claims that paedophiles are misunderstood.

Change in construing

The majority of clinical applications are oriented towards influencing change in construing by the individual and their behaviour. The construing of offenders has been examined in relation to rapists (Howells and Steadman-Allen 1977), paedophiles (Howells 1979; Chin Keung 1988), psychopathic violent offenders (Widom 1976) arsonists (Fransella and Adams 1966) and sex offenders (Shorts 1985).

There has been considerable interest in the way in which Personal Construct Theory and repertory grid technique can enhance one's understanding of mentally abnormal offenders. The ways in which offenders construe their worlds are considered to have an important influence upon their social behaviour. Many of the studies using this approach have focused upon studying the personal construct systems of different offender groups at a particular point in time. There has been little research directed to examining the personal construing of sex offenders and how this undergoes change over time. A study which seeks to address this area examines the changes in construing of a rapist following four years of treatment in a forensic facility (Shorts 1985). This study reveals how construing by the rapist undergoes considerable change. It reveals how he perceives others as viewing him increasingly as a rapist and of his tendency towards social withdrawal. Avoidance of relationships with others enables him to sustain a rather constricted view which cannot be put to test and invalidated. It is suggested that the implications of such findings would be the introduction of therapy to encourage the person to elaborate his construct system and invalidate some of his constructions.

Victimisation

A review of available literature revealed a single study concerning the experiences of victimisation. This involved a psychotherapeutic attempt to help an adolescent girl incestuously assaulted by her father for over a decade to rebuild a sense of self. This involved the framework of personal construct theory and drew on narrative rather than the repertory grid tool (Green 1988).

4.12 Computerised repertory grid analysis

The current grid application utilised an interactive computerised repertory grid programme. This set of psychological tools concerning computer interactions may help the individual to become a 'personal scientist' (Shaw 1980). The computer offers an interactive and participative method of data analysis which extracts and displays subjective and personal relationships in a repertory grid. This provides the person with a view of themselves and their relationships in a non directive and supportive environment. This technology has been developed further in relation to reflective procedures called 'learning conversations' which enable people to become more aware of their learning processes (Harri-Augstein and Thomas 1991). These techniques constitute what is known as 'self organised learning'. These procedures may be seen to contribute towards increased capacity to learn, manage tasks and assist with the development of more flexible strategies in the workplace (Harri-Augstein and Thomas 1991). The application of technology may be seen as part of an increasing trend towards the use of computers particularly in relation to qualitative research (Richards and Richards 1994). The technology has certain benefits including the reduced opportunities for influence by the researcher. It provides on screen information for the respondent concerning the purpose of the gridding process. Initially, the computer programme requests a purpose for grid elicitation before requesting elements from the respondents. The elements can be people, objects or things. In this instance, the elements chosen comprised 'significant others' in the respondents world focusing in particular upon the experience of criminal victimisation. The computer programme facilitates construct elicitation using the triadic elicitation method. This involves random sorts of three elements from a list being presented before the respondents. Respondents are requested to distinguish similarities and differences for each group of sorts by distinguishing which two elements are similar and which is different giving reasons. A number of bi-polar constructs are generated from this procedure. The respondent is then requested to rate each element on each construct. Upon completion of this task, a preliminary analysis

of construct and element similarity can be made available to the respondent in the form of a cluster analysis which allows the data to be presented in diagrammatic form known as a dendrogram. This provides the respondent with immediate feedback concerning how they see their world and how their world changed as a consequence of the criminal event. It may also provide a basis for further elaboration of meaning and exploration of the construct system using this technique or as a basis for future conversation.

The use of technology is of particular help in relation to the interpretation of data. The package enabled a two factor Principal Components Analysis which reduces data to two principal dimensions and this helps with understanding the relationship between elements and constructs and thus the interpretation of data. An interesting aspect of this analysis is the way in which what seems on the face of it to be a qualitative approach involves a quantitative dimension through the rating of constructs by respondents and use of Principal Components Analysis which reduces data to principal dimensions of construing thereby facilitating with interpretation of data.

4.13 From therapeutic to research applications - ethical considerations

Previous applications of repertory grids have focused upon the therapeutic context and an emphasis upon effecting change and elaboration of existing construct systems. The current application departs from this through an emphasis upon research. This raises issues about the importance of ensuring that respondents are clear about the purpose of the research. It is to be recognised that the boundaries between the two may become blurred particularly in relation to research which encourages the person to reflect upon an event in their lives which was experienced as distressing. Awareness of this possibility may require the sensitive employment of the technique on the part of the researcher.

4.14 The research sample, rationale and data collection

For the purpose of the current study, the repertory grid technique was applied to understand the experiences of rape and housebreaking. The principal reason for these crimes being chosen concerned the tendency of criminal law, official statistics and for criminal victimisation surveys to categorise these crimes as distinctive. The crime of rape is defined as 'the carnal knowledge of a female by a male person obtained by

overcoming her will'(Gordon 1978: 883-893). Rape is completed by penetration of the woman's body. Here, it is noted that a conviction will be difficult if the hymen has not been broken. By contrast, housebreaking is defined as a form of 'aggravated theft' where the housebreaking must precede the theft. (Gordon 1978: 449-522). Housebreaking may apply to any roofed building and dwelling and may be seen to cover a wide range of actions. It may include any unauthorised entry, other than by an unlocked door or open ground floor window or by turning a key in a lock. The original idea of housebreaking was as an act of violence but this has been departed from. It would be an act of housebreaking if one used a key which was hidden under a stone near the door or a key on a hook near the door. All that remains today is the idea of 'overcoming the security of the building'. It is worth noting that the crime of housebreaking differs from the crime of burglary in English Law in which the concept of 'breaking' which was a required element of the crime of housebreaking has been eliminated. Under the new definition of burglary, a person is guilty of burglary if they enter a building as a trespasser or attempt to steal anything in the building, inflict grievous bodily harm on a person, rape a woman therein and does damage within the building (Smith 1989). Rape is categorised as a 'violent crime' and housebreaking a 'property crime' with the former being classified as more serious than the latter. Further, much of the academic literature has concerned itself with the evaluation of the quantitative seriousness using quantitative methods. On the basis of the legal definitions above the crimes of 'rape' and 'housebreaking' may be understood as similar using the concept of 'boundaries' and how these are 'broken'. This study will seek to show how from the point of view of the victim and with an emphasis upon the qualitative seriousness, the personal experiences of rape and housebreaking are actually much more similar through concern with the 'reconstruction of self'. Before examining considerations concerning the use of the repertory grid tool it is relevant to provide a brief account of the literature relating to rape and housebreaking.

Research on rape and housebreaking

The impact of rape is well known and well documented (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979), however the impact of housebreaking is less well known (Anderson and Leitch 1996). In view of this, the review will focus upon the equivalent English crime of burglary. This review will focus upon research which examines the impact of burglary. It aims to show how much of the research in this area is of a quantitative nature and examines to what extent the crimes of rape and burglary have been subject to comparison.

One such study which provides a comprehensive study of the experience of burglary focuses upon quantifying the effects of burglary (Maguire 1982). This is based upon the rationalisations of victims and examines the effects from the initial effects, through longer term effects, to the worst aspects and finally to a consideration of the after effects. Under the initial effects, reference is made to shock and attempts by the victim to rationalise the disorder. Lasting effects include the victim visualising a stranger such as someone local who knew their habits. Victims were also seen to reinterpret small events. Reference was made to someone watching them and the mistrust of others was also noted. Longer term effects concerned the violation and the sense of a presence in the house. Here, an analogy was made with sexual assault victimisation. Reference was made to fitting new locks to provide a sense of control. The worst aspects of the experience were considered to be the intrusion on privacy followed by emotional upset, loss of property involving sentimental objects, disarrangement of property and damage to property. Differential vulnerability was noted with over half of those who felt worst affected being people who were separated, widowed or divorced. Reference was also made to strategies for reducing the effects of housebreaking and victims expectations of the police.

This important piece of research makes brief reference to the similarities between the experience of housebreaking and sexual assault under the longer term effects experienced through the idea of a dirty stranger touching their private possessions. The major limitation of this study is derived from emphasis upon quantifying the effects of the housebreaking through employment of a questionnaire. Thus people's experiences of burglary are located within the confines of the menu categories of the survey constructed by the researcher at the expense of a more qualitative approach which encourages the construction of personal meanings of burglary.

In contrast to the study above, which focuses upon establishing the quantitative effects of burglary, a further study provides a useful comparison through the adoption of a qualitative approach towards the experience of burglary (Korosec-Serfaty 1986). The study is based upon 36 interviews with people who experienced burglary. These interviews were of a non directed nature and subsequent analysis was thematic in nature. This study shows how the experience of burglary may be understood largely in terms of the experience of boundaries[3]. The construction of boundaries around the home operates to distinguish private worlds from the outside world and insiders from

[3] See also Brown and Altman (1983) for a discussion of territoriality, defensible space and residential burglary.

outsiders (Allan 1989). The article refers to how the symbolic value of the home as strong and protective is challenged through the experience of burglary. The door of the house is seen to symbolise the boundary between personal and outside worlds. Most burglaries involve breaking down the door. A further theme relates to the importance of order. Here, it is recognised that personal sense of order which may be regarded as disorder according to social conventions falls within the dweller's sense of order. The experience of burglary involves the creation of disorder by others. This is followed by the dweller's attempts to reinstate a sense of order. The experience of burglary contributes to a sense of vulnerability concerning the construction of self. The burglary may also be seen to influence a perceived change in relationships with others. While neighbours may contribute to a sense of security, the incident contributes to distance in relationships with neighbours and a quest for family identity. Attention is directed to the loss of objects being less about the material value but attachment to objects evidenced by reactions similar to those witnessed in relation to bereavement. Korosec-Serfaty's French study (1986) refers to how the words used to refer to burglary may be translated as rape, rape of privacy and rape of one's world. The image of rape is perpetuated further through the use of expressions like 'to penetrate', 'intrusion' or 'invasion of privacy'. The article draws attention to processes of reification evidenced by respondents feeling that they are being watched and therefore subject to the gaze of the burglar. Further, this study shows how knowledge about the person burgled may influence the development of identity. This article draws attention to how the experience operates for the person to redefine their experience of burglary as a non hostile visit. The experience of burglary involves the re-establishment of boundaries. This is evidenced through the dweller questioning relationships with others and the consequences of this for the construction of their own identity. Thus symbolic boundaries are re-established between the home and the outside world. The experience of burglary is less understood as 'theft of an object' but as an experience affecting the construction of identity through the questioning of relationships with others.

Both studies provide a view of burglary from the perspective of the victim and there are many common themes concerning the initial intrusion of privacy, disorder, mistrust of others, being watched, stereotypes of burglars and reorganisation of their world. However, the first study focuses upon the quantifying the effects at the expense of examining the qualitative experience of housebreaking. Indeed it may be argued that the second study which is oriented towards the qualitative experience of burglary provides more scope for making links between the experiences of burglary

and rape through it's emphasis upon boundaries being broken and reorganised and the investment of self in objects. Neither study elaborates upon the similarities between the experience of rape and housebreaking.

While considerable attention is drawn to the differential nature of rape and burglary one study which challenges a view of rape as a street crime shows how a considerable proportion of rape occurs within the home (Warr 1988). The researchers argue how rape and burglary because of their common locus in the home share similar opportunity structures. Drawing upon UCS crime rates they conclude that home intrusion rape (rape following an unlawful entry of the home) is a violent crime with the opportunity structure of a property crime.

There is a further study which compares the experiences of rape and burglary (Wirtz and Harrell 1987). This study examines the psychological responses of assaultive (rape, domestic assault, non domestic assault) and non assaultive crimes (burglary). It reveals that although there may be quantitative differences, there are similarities in terms of response patterns. Explanation for this concerned the process whereby victims' assumptions about their own invulnerability were shattered (Wirtz and Harrell 1987). The main limitations of this approach are derived from an orientation to quantifying responses of victims using scales constructed by the researcher at the expense of revealing the qualitative experience of rape and burglary.

A major aim of this study was to compare the personal constructs of persons who had experienced rape with those who had experienced housebreaking and establish the extent to which these experiences may be considered qualitatively similar. Participants were sought from the organisations Rape Crisis and Victim Support respectively. Concerns were raised by representatives of these agencies about the possible harm experienced by individuals as a consequence of participation in the research. Consequently, a representative of Rape Crisis granted research access to individuals who had experienced rape on the condition that two years had elapsed since the incident. A representative of Victim Support granted access on the grounds that individuals were no longer receiving support.

Letters requesting participation in the research were distributed through the organisational representatives. Using this approach two people who had experienced rape agreed to participate in the research. The low take up rate was attributed to protective attitudes of representatives of the organisations concerning the practical

outcomes of the research. Although there was a standard letter of introduction to the research, the organisational representative may have influenced levels of participation. A further two participants were obtained through informal networks. These participants differed from other participants in the group insofar as they had no previous contact with agencies including the police and Rape Crisis. The participants who had experienced rape differed in terms of their characteristics, background and experiences. The four women ranged in age from late twenties to early thirties and varied in terms of marital status. The women's experiences of rape also differed in terms of the different relationships between the victim and the perpetrator with some women being raped by a stranger and others raped by someone they knew. Further, some of the women had previous experiences of rape. There was further variation in terms of women's differential experiences of contact with and support from family and friends. The women also had differential experience of contact with agencies such as the police and/or Rape Crisis.

Four participants with experience of housebreaking were obtained through the organisation Victim Support. The participants of this group varied in terms of their characteristics, background and experiences. For example, the age range of participants ranged from and included two employed married women, a retired woman who lived alone and a retired man. These participants also varied in relation to their previous experience of housebreaking. One of the participants had been burgled before. There was further variation in relation to experience of contact and support from family and friends. In addition, there were differential experiences of agencies including the police and victim support. The participants and their differential experiences are explored further in chapters five and six.

Grid elicitation concerning experiences of rape was carried out at the office of the researcher in February-April 1993. By contrast, grid elicitation concerning experiences of housebreaking was conducted at the homes of respondents in December 1993. The decision to elicit grids at the homes of respondents was primarily one of convenience to the respondents and the researcher. It also provided an opportunity to test the computerised grid application in the field.

4.15 The employment of the computerised repertory grid

The process of grid elicitation may be considered successful insofar as constructs were elicited from those who had experienced rape and housebreaking. However, it

was noted that some respondents experienced initial difficulties in relation to thinking in terms of dichotomous constructs. Grid elicitation was a lengthy process of two hours duration. In view of the probing nature of grid elicitation and the time taken to elicit grids, grid elicitation was confined to a single meeting. However, it may have been of interest to explore constructs systems further not only in relation to experiences of rape but in relation to experiences of housebreaking. On the whole respondents enjoyed the opportunity to talk about their experiences although there were occasions when respondents experienced distress in recounting the incident. Respondents enjoyed the opportunity for feedback in the form of a diagrammatic representation of their personal construct system. This feedback could have been utilised as a basis for further elaboration. The location of grid elicitation raised some issues of interest. One of the principle concerns related to the possible malfunction of the portable computer used for grid elicitation at the home of respondents. This concern was unfounded with the programme running successfully. The process of grid elicitation concerning experiences of housebreaking produced unexpected and interesting findings. These participants were seen to assume more control of the interview through asking questions and interrupting the interview through provision of hospitality to the researcher. Further control by the respondent was gained through other interruptions concerning the provision of documents or photographs relating to the incident. This stimulated conversation and further reflection and could therefore have been used to encourage further elaboration of constructs.

4.16 The computerised repertory grid as reflexive methodology.

Repertory grid technique may be viewed as reflexive methodology insofar as it encourages individual respondents to think about and reflect upon their experiences. The method also encourages the researcher to think about their role and involvement in the research process. On reflection, the process of grid elicitation was evaluated as successful insofar as it helped with the elicitation of personal constructs. It is worth noting that some respondents experienced difficulties in relation to the gridding process which required them to think in terms of dichotomous constructs. Thus the method may involve an element of rigidity itself. Further, the computer programme limited personal constructs to twelve characters. Other respondents experienced difficulties in relation to the measurement or rating of elements on each construct. There were also occasions when respondents became upset in recounting their experience of the event. However, a major concern related to the grid elicitation process taking almost two hours. On the basis of the grid elicitation process being

conducted for the purposes of research rather than therapy and on the basis of the limited time available to the researcher, it was decided that further exploration and elaboration of grids should be abandoned. On reflection this was a matter which should have been negotiated between the researcher and individual respondents. On the whole respondents appeared to enjoy the interactive gridding process, in particular, the opportunity for receipt of computer output representing the way in which they constructed their interpersonal world. In relation to the provision of feedback, the researcher could have been more reflexive through asking whether the individual agreed with the diagrammatic representation of the world of the respondent. Thus the diagram could have been used as a tool for further dialogue and greater elaboration of meaning. A particular concern of the researcher related to the possible malfunction of the portable computer in relation to eliciting experiences of housebreaking in the homes of respondents. These concerns were unfounded with the programme running successfully. It is worth noting that a number of interesting points emerged in relation to conducting the process of grid elicitation at the homes of respondents who had experienced housebreaking compared with grid elicitation conducted at the office of the researcher with respondents who had experienced rape. In relation to the elicitation of grids at home, respondents took more control in relation to the research interview through interrupting the researcher to speak or ask questions. Further interruptions took the form of provision of hospitality to the researcher but also in relation to the provision of documents and photographic evidence concerning the victimising event. These negotiations could have been explored further as providing the basis for further reflection and elaboration of meaning between researcher and respondent. Thus the context of construing is an important factor for consideration by the researcher since it may have significant implications for subsequent construction by the respondent. While the repertory grid technique minimised opportunities for the researcher to impose meanings upon the victim, the researcher remained aware of the possibility of involvement in construction on occasions when the respondent experienced difficulties during grid elicitation but also at the stage of interpretation and analysis of grids and throughout the process of writing up the research. On reflection the researcher also become more aware about how their understanding of experiences of crime became increasingly sophisticated as a consequence of contact with successive victims. This signals the need for increased awareness of the role of the researcher in the research process.

4.17 Conclusion

This chapter has examined repertory grid method as an alternative method for addressing the personally constructed experiences of victimisation. This involved an overview of the theory from which the method was derived. The theory was considered to be of particular interest in relation to the criminal event principally because it relied upon a mechanism of 'anticipation' in which the individual constructs and reconstructs their experience as a consequence of incoming information gained from new experiences. The theory may be regarded as of limited usefulness and thus it may be preferable to use the technique independent of the theory. The repertory grid method provides a technique which encourages the elicitation of personal constructs. The technique encourages a more equal relationship between the researcher and respondent. The chapter showed how the repertory grid tool had been used in a diversity of applications but not in relation to examining the personal experiences of victimisation. The chapter considered use of the method in relation to understanding the personal experiences of rape and housebreaking. The rationale for this comparison was provided by reference to a literature which revealed how previous research has categorised these experiences as discrete and separate and relies almost exclusively upon the employment of quantitative techniques which obscure the personal meanings constructed by victims of crime. The chapter detailed how a computerised form of repertory grid was utilised. It also shows how what seems a qualitative technique involves a quantitative dimension and how further use of quantitative methods assists with the interpretation of data. Finally, repertory grid tool can be considered a reflexive methodology through encouraging the victim to reflect upon their experience of crime but also in relation to encouraging the researcher thinking about their involvement in the research process. The next chapter provides the results from an application of repertory grid tool to the experiences of rape and housebreaking. The results are presented in the form of individual case studies since this contributes to an appreciation of the unique and personal nature of construing concerning the experience of crime. Employment of the case study approach helps with the telling of each persons story. While the personal meanings of each respondent are privileged over those of the researcher it may be argued that these meanings are subject to reconstruction by the reader through involvement in the selection and organisation of information (Stake 1994).

CHAPTER 5

PERSONAL CONSTRUCTS AND EXPERIENCES OF RAPE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from an application of computerised repertory grid technique which was employed to examine the way in people construct their experiences of the criminal event, in particular, the experiences of rape. In order to appreciate the uniqueness of each situation the results are presented in the form of case studies. A particular concern of this chapter is with examination of the nature and organisation of the personal construct systems of each individual. This will involve a two factor Principal Components Analysis. This procedure enables data to be reduced to two principal dimensions. This contributes to examination of the relationship between constructs and elements. Employment of this analysis also assists with the interpretation of repertory grid data. In addition to examination of the various meanings constructed by people who have experienced rape, the chapter will focus upon establishing whether their personal constructs changed as a consequence of the criminal event, in particular, the constructs representing self. Finally, the chapter will attempt a comparison of the repertory grids elicited concerning experiences of rape.

5.2 Case study R1

Background

R1 is twenty eight years of age, single and in part-time work. She recalls she was raped two years ago in July 1990. The incident occurred when she was walking home with her boyfriend after an evening out. A stranger in a van stopped his vehicle to request directions. She approached the car and was dragged into the vehicle by him through the passenger door. He drove along the road and around a corner where he stopped the car and proceeded to rape her. A struggle ensured and she in escaping through the passenger door. She ran to the flat of her boyfriend but he had fallen asleep. R1 stated that he had been drinking. She picked up the telephone and reported the crime to the police. She was then required to undergo a medical examination at the general hospital.

In the months that followed a major concern of R1 was the possibility of HIV infection. She has since taken two HIV the results of which have been negative. Although R1 informed her General Practitioner about her experience she was

dissatisfied with her medical care because of a lack of continuity in care between doctors and successive prescriptions of anti-depressants. She did not seek the assistance of other agencies including Rape Crisis.

Some months after the incident R1 told her mother about the rape. Her mother was particularly upset that she had not told her sooner. Her mother and father are divorced. R1 expressed the view that she had led a very unsettled childhood due to her father being in the armed services.

After the rape, relations worsened between her and the then boyfriend since she felt that he had been responsible for the rape occurring since he was under the influence of alcohol and was in no condition to provide assistance. The relationship with this boyfriend deteriorated and ended. In recent months R1 has started a new relationship. She refers to this person on several occasions throughout the interview. She refers to feeling more secure with him. She refers to feeling better since speaking to the researcher about her experience and has decided to terminate the course of anti-depressants prescribed by the doctor.

List of elicited constructs

1. more fun - very serious
2. secure - vulnerable
3. trustworthy - untrustworthy
4. more open - reserved
5. more sociable - loner
6. more compatible - inexperienced
7. more lively - stuffy
8. bitter - more self assured
9. more confident - unsure
10. more in common - outsider
11. outgoing - quiet
12. understanding - quiet
13. more concerned - bashful
14. more honest - loyal
15. aggressive - gentle
16. distant - close
17. easy going - self centred
18. dominating - dominated
19. non violent - violent

Principal Components Analysis[1]

Principal Component 1

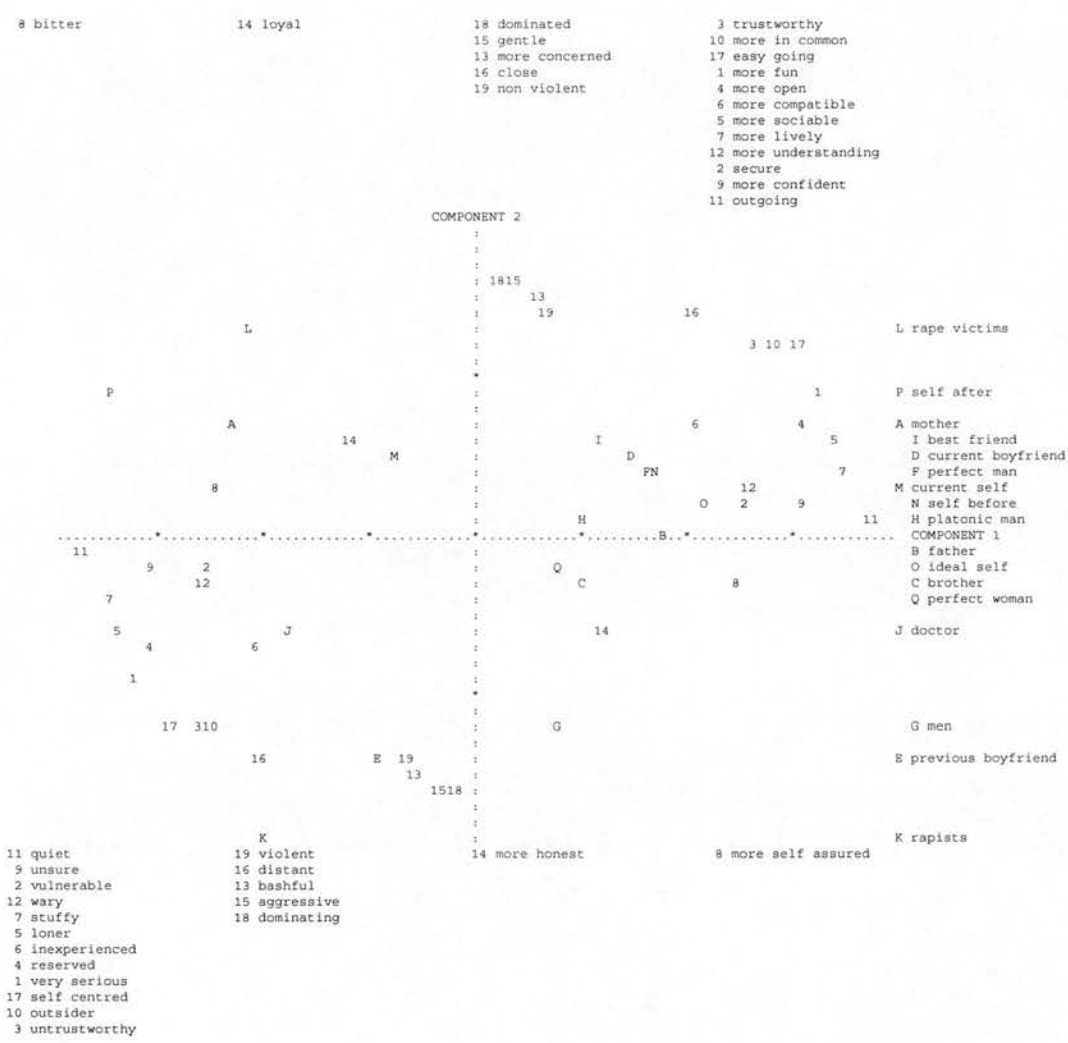
1. easy going - self centred (93.5%)
2. more fun - very serious (93.2%)
3. trustworthy - untrustworthy (91.8%)
4. more in common - outsider (89.1%)
5. more sociable - loner (87.5%)
6. more open - reserved (86.3%)
7. more lively - stuffy (85.1%)
8. close - distant (84.5%)
9. outgoing - quiet (79.7%)
10. more confident - unsure (70%)

Principal Component 2

1. dominating - dominated (68.1%)

[1] Only those constructs accounting for 70% variance and above were regarded as significant and therefore included. Susequent analysis includes includes all constructs. Constructs have been reversed where a negative correlation was obtained to provide best fit. The constructs are presented in order of their relative importance.

Figure 5.1: Principal Components Analysis showing R1's construal of self in relation to personal experience of rape



Discussion

The first component and most important dimension of construing seems to be concerned greatly with sociality/isolation while the second component is defined largely by powerful/powerless dimension. Principal Components Analysis reveals that the first component accounts for 52.59% variance and the second component accounts for 14.65% variance. It seems that the first component is more highly saturated than the second. This indicates a rather undifferentiated construct system. This is shown by the size of the angles between the x and y axis in the diagram. R1 views her world mainly in terms of the dimensions of sociality/isolation and dominating/dominated. For example, she views most of her friends as sociable and this is contrasted with the

dimension of isolation where she locates her previous boyfriend who she views as a loner. The second principal dimension relates to those people which she considers dominating such as rapists and her previous boyfriend. This is contrasted with those people she thinks of as dominated, in particular rape victims and her current self. She views her boyfriend as distant and fairly similar to the element rapists. The similarity between elements is evidenced by the close proximity between the two elements. This view of rapists as a threat may be seen to contribute a sense of order to her world. However, viewing rapists in these terms may discourage testing and possible invalidation of these views. She may require to elaborate these views. Further, just because a person views someone as a threat does not necessarily mean the person will avoid risk. Before the experience of rape R1 construed herself as more sociable, open and similar to her friends. This is indicated by the short distance between elements. In the immediate aftermath of the rape she viewed herself as similar to rape victims. She views her current self as similar to the element rape victim but the direction of movement of elements representing self indicates that she would like to be like her previous self in the future. Thus she views herself as less similar to the element victim and is concerned with becoming like she used to be through concern with regaining a sense of sociality.

5.3 Case study R2

Background

R2 is thirty two years of age, married and in employment. She recalls how the incident occurred eight years when she was raped by her neighbour. She remembers answering the door. It was quite late about eleven o'clock in the evening. It was her neighbour looking for milk for his children. At the time of the incident the neighbour's wife was in hospital expecting the birth to their third child. She remembers fetching the milk from the fridge. All the while they talked about his wife and of possible names for the baby. She recalls how he tried to kiss her and how she responded by telling saying not to be so stupid. This resulted in a struggle and her being pinned to the floor by him. Despite her resistance and verbal comments about how this would ruin his marriage and the involvement of the dog, he succeeded in raping her. After raping her, he stood up, pulled on his trousers, said he was sorry and left. She pulled on a pair of jogging trousers and informed a neighbour that she had been raped. She contacted her parents who lived across the road and her mother then telephoned the police. R2 recalls how her mother prevented her from taking a bath until after the police had arrived. Her clothes were taken by the police and she was

taken to the police station to enable photographs to be taken. She remembers feeling particularly uncomfortable sitting between the two policemen in the car. She underwent a medical examination at the local hospital and returned home at about 6a.m. the following morning when she was able to take a bath. She remembers feeling so upset that she threw her son from her knee. The same day she visited her general practitioner to obtain contraception. Once these formalities were dealt with she left the house to spend a few days with her parents at their caravan but felt depressed on return. She decided to contact Rape Crisis who arranged counselling support once a week. The following January she recalls being required to give a defence precognition statement. Accompanied by a volunteer from Rape Crisis she recalls being required to tell her story again. She found it difficult to understand how the case went to court and further how he could plead not guilty. The court case was brought forward from March to 10a.m. one Friday in February. She was not informed of this change until late the day before. Her parents were cited as witnesses. She was accompanied to court by a rape crisis worker. She remembers being in the witness box for almost two hours. While the fiscal simply requested her to recall the events in her own words, cross-examination it established that she was unmarried and had a son and further tried to establish whether she was running about with other men. Finally, she lost her composure. In particular, she recalls how upset she was at having to handle the clothes she had worn at the time of the incident. Throughout the trial she avoided eye contact with the accused. Finally, she collapsed after giving evidence. The trial continued and although she was not present a Rape Crisis worker attended to hear the outcome. A not proven verdict was returned. That same day she visited her general practitioner and was prescribed a mild sedative. Four days later she decided that sedatives were not the solution and disposed of her tablets. Following the trial R2 derived considerable support from her nursing colleagues. She also visited her lawyer to obtain an injunction. However, she also recalls how she was getting off a bus when she was assaulted by the wife of the perpetrator. Consequently, the council helped to rehouse her. There were several times when she asked herself why the event occurred and why it happened to her. In 1986 she met her husband and married in March 1989. She comments on deriving a sense of security with him and feeling a lot stronger. However, she has refrained from telling him about the incident. At the time of this interview she was working as a nurse and part time in a public house. She has also started a nursing course and has become a trained volunteer with the agency Rape Crisis.

List of elicited constructs

1. tolerant - intolerant
2. more relaxed - highly strung
3. male thinking - male orientated
4. pleasant - unpleasant
5. male chauvinist - not male chauvinist
6. more confident - less confident
7. communicative - uncommunicative
8. irresponsible - responsible
9. controlled - spontaneous
10. defensive - easy going
11. not dependent on men - independent of men
12. settled - very unsettled
13. insecure - secure
14. self assured - not self assured
15. mistrusting - trustful
16. self centred - unselfish
17. impulsive - reserved
18. domineering - dominated
19. worthy - unworthy
20. sensitive - insensitive
21. careful - careless
22. fun - funless
23. quiet - loud
24. caring - non caring
25. being controlled - controller

Principal Components Analysis

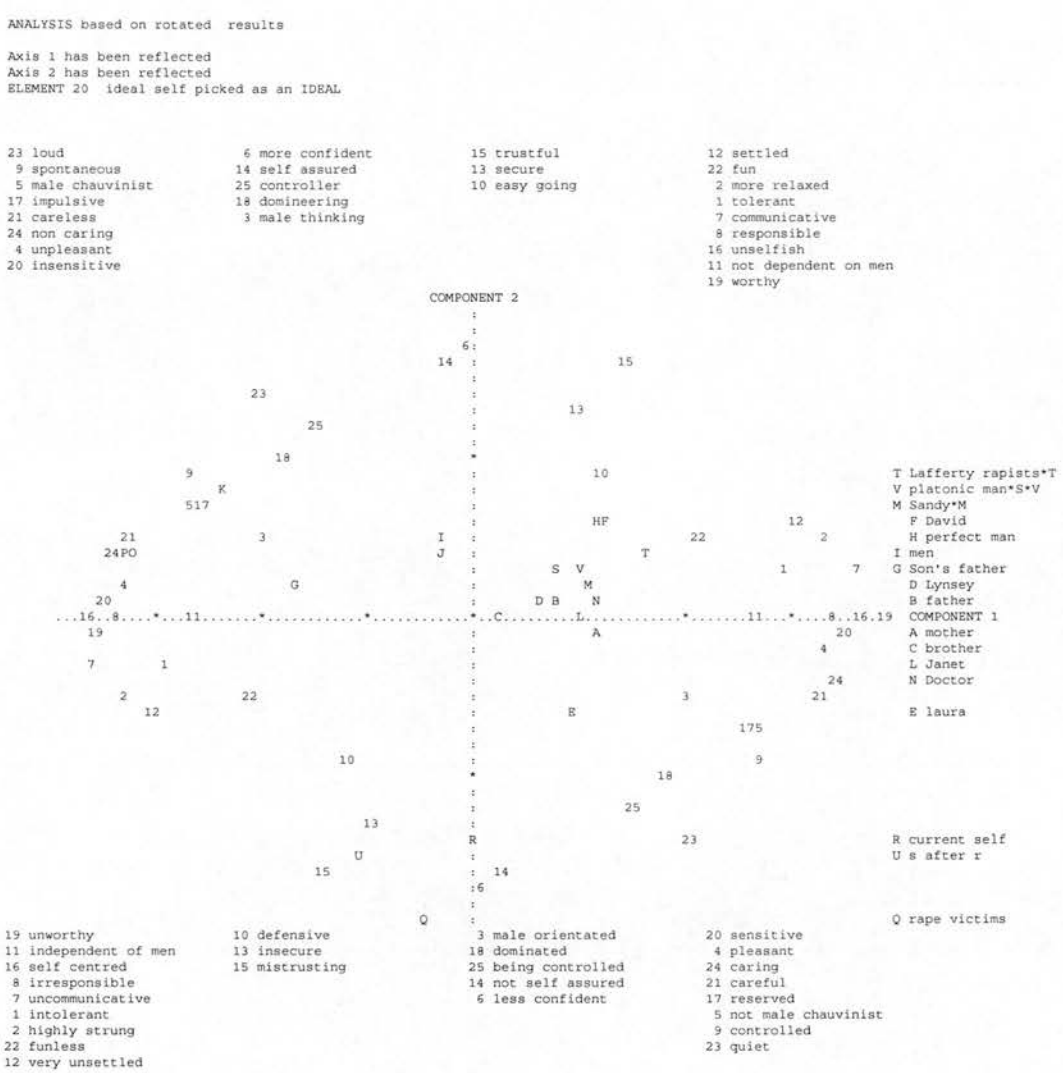
Principal Component 1

1. worthy - unworthy (93.2%)
2. unselfish - self centred (90.4%)
3. communicative - uncommunicative (88.4%)
4. caring - non caring (88.1%)
5. sensitive - insensitive (87.9%)
6. careful - careless (85.8%)
7. responsible - irresponsible (85.3%)
8. pleasant - unpleasant (84.2%)
9. more relaxed - highly strung (80.1%)
10. controlled - spontaneous (74.9%)
11. tolerant - intolerant (72.1%)
12. settled - very unsettled (72.1%)
13. not male chauvinist - male chauvinist (72%)

Principal Component 2

1. trustful - mistrusting (87.4%)
2. more confident - less confident (86.4%)
3. self assured - not self assured (83.3%)

Figure 5.2: Principal Components Analysis showing R2's construal of self in relation to personal experience of rape



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with giving/ungiving dimension. The second component is defined largely by confidence/apprehensive dimension. These findings indicate that R2's current construal of others and self are largely defined in terms of giving/ungiving. The first component accounts for 45.62% variance. The second component accounts for 19.71% variance. Again this would indicate a fairly undifferentiated construct system. R2 has a fairly elaborate system of construing. It may be speculated that this may in part be due to contact with support services and opportunity to speak about her experience. She views her world principally in terms of the dimensions concerning unselfish-uncommunicative and self assured- less confident. For example she views her parents as unselfish. This can be

contrasted with those persons she considers uncommunicative or oriented to self such as rapists and neighbour. R2 views her neighbour in terms similar to rapists as evidenced by close distance between these elements principally as careless and oriented towards self which is fairly understandable given the circumstances of the event. Men are viewed chiefly in terms of power and dominance and dissimilar from other elements as evidenced by distance between elements. It may be speculated that her view of men has been influenced through contact with the Rape Crisis agency. The analysis reveals how R2 viewed herself before the event as more sociable and how as a consequence of the criminal event she viewed herself mainly in terms of mistrust and insecurity. This was viewed as similar to her view of rape victims. At present she views herself as similar to the way in which she views rape victims although the plot of elements indicates a shift towards her view of self before the incident and less similar to rape victims. However, the space between the elements self before and self after indicates that she views her current self as different from before the event.

5.4 Case study R3

Background

R3 is 30 years old employed, single, employed and has a current partner. She recalls how the incident occurred eight years ago while on holiday in Paris. She remembers experiencing difficulties in making a telephone call home from the train station. She was approached by a man who offered to help. Grateful for his help she agreed to go for coffee with him. After taking coffee he mentioned that he had arranged to meet his friend at his flat. He asked her to come along and meet his friend at his flat. At the flat she recalled that there was no one there. She remembers feeling uncomfortable and excused herself to go to the bathroom which was located outside the flat in the corridor. She remembers thinking that she could have escaped but realised that she had left her hand bag, passport and money on the kitchen table. She re-entered the flat to pick up her belongings. This involved walking through the bedroom to get to the kitchen. She remembers being raped shortly afterwards. On return from her holiday she contacted Rape Crisis. She does not have much contact with her family. She has been married and recalls how her ex husband tried to rape her. She has a current boyfriend and several close friends. She is interested and attends the local meetings of 'zero tolerance', a campaign against violence against women.

List of elicited constructs

1. have been raped - hasn't been raped
2. trustworthy - not trustworthy
3. gentle - loud and obnoxious
4. feel love towards - feel anger
5. insecure - more in control
6. reliable - unreliable
7. passive - aggressor
8. want them to be happy - want them to be miserable
9. vulnerable - threatening
10. threatening - secure
11. tactile - reserved
12. non hostile - hostile
13. no self confidence - more confidence
14. content - unhappy

Principal Components Analysis

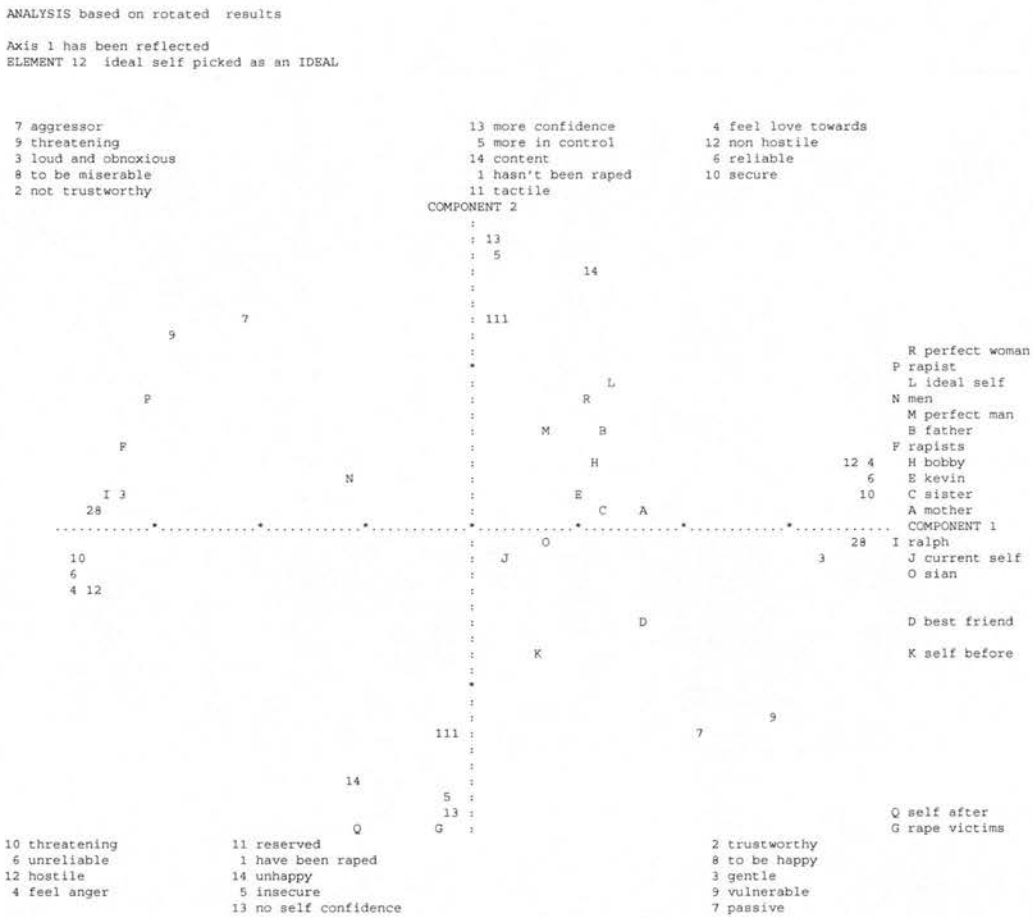
Principal Component 1

1. feel love towards - feel anger (96.2%)
2. reliable - unreliable (95.8%)
3. secure - threatening (93.4%)
4. trustworthy - not trustworthy (91.8%)
5. for them to be happy - for them to be miserable (91.5%)
6. non hostile - hostile (89.5%)
7. gentle - loud and obnoxious (84.9%)
8. vulnerable - threatening (71.4%)

Principal Component 2

1. no self confidence - more confidence (95.7%)
2. insecure - more in control (88.7%)
3. unhappy - content (84.5%)
4. passive - aggressor (71.1%)

Figure 5.3: Principal Components Analysis showing R3's construal of self in relation to personal experience of rape



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with trust/risk dimension. The second component is defined largely by insecurity/security dimension. These findings indicate that R3's current construal of others and self are largely defined in terms of trust/mistrust or apprehension. The first component accounts for 48.71% variance. The second component accounts for 30.99% variance. This would indicate a fairly differentiated construct system. R3 views her world principally in terms of the dimensions concerning people who are reliable/threatening and those who are more in control/no self confidence. For example she views her family as reliable and rapists as threatening. She views those more in control as including rapists, the perfect women and her ideal self. Those people she considers as having no self confidence include rape victims and her self after the rape. This illustrates the contrasts between self and others. She views her family and friends as different from self. She views rapists as different from other elements evidenced by the larger distance between elements and chiefly in terms of threatening. Her previous husband is viewed as

similar to rapists. This is indicated by the short distance between these elements. This construal of her husband is understandable since her husband had raped her in the past. She views men as similar to the elements rapist and previous husband since they are located within the same quadrant. The constructs about men may to some extent have been influenced as a consequence of her contact with Rape Crisis. Construing men in threatening terms may operate to avoid testing and possible invalidation and elaboration of these meanings. Before the incident R3 viewed herself as passive. This can be contrasted with the way in which she viewed herself after the event mainly as unhappy. Here, she views herself as similar to rape victims. This interpretation is based upon the distance between these elements. However, she views her current self as less similar to rape victims and this interpretation is based upon the small distances between these elements. The direction of movement of elements representing the self shows how she now views herself as similar to the way she was before the event but how she wishes to see herself in the future as different from self as she saw herself before as similar to her friends whom she views as content.

5.5 Case study R4

Background

R4 is twenty seven years old, a student and has a current boyfriend. She recalls how she was raped seven years ago by a friend of her drug dealer. At that time she was addicted to cocaine and working as a prostitute. She recalls how due to the influence of drugs she was unable to put up much resistance. A year later she recalls being raped by her fiancee. She is no longer taking drugs. She has a distant relationship with her parents in particular her mother who she refers to as 'raping' her. She has a current boyfriend. She refers to how she has been damaged and warns of relationships with people like her since they know how to survive.

List of elicited constructs

1. Deeply hurt - not so hurt
2. Sold ourselves - using
3. dependent on me - not dependent on me
4. felt disgusted - not so disgusted
5. feel dirty - feel pure
6. enthusiastic - cynical
7. sexually abused - not sexually abused
8. would rape - wouldn't rape

9. doesn't respect partners - respects partners
10. security - insecurity
11. explorative - not explorative
12. exploiting - not exploiting
13. identify with rape victims - doesn't identify with rape victims
14. more tender - less tender
15. alienated from one's body - confident
16. controlling - laissez-faire

Principal Components Analysis

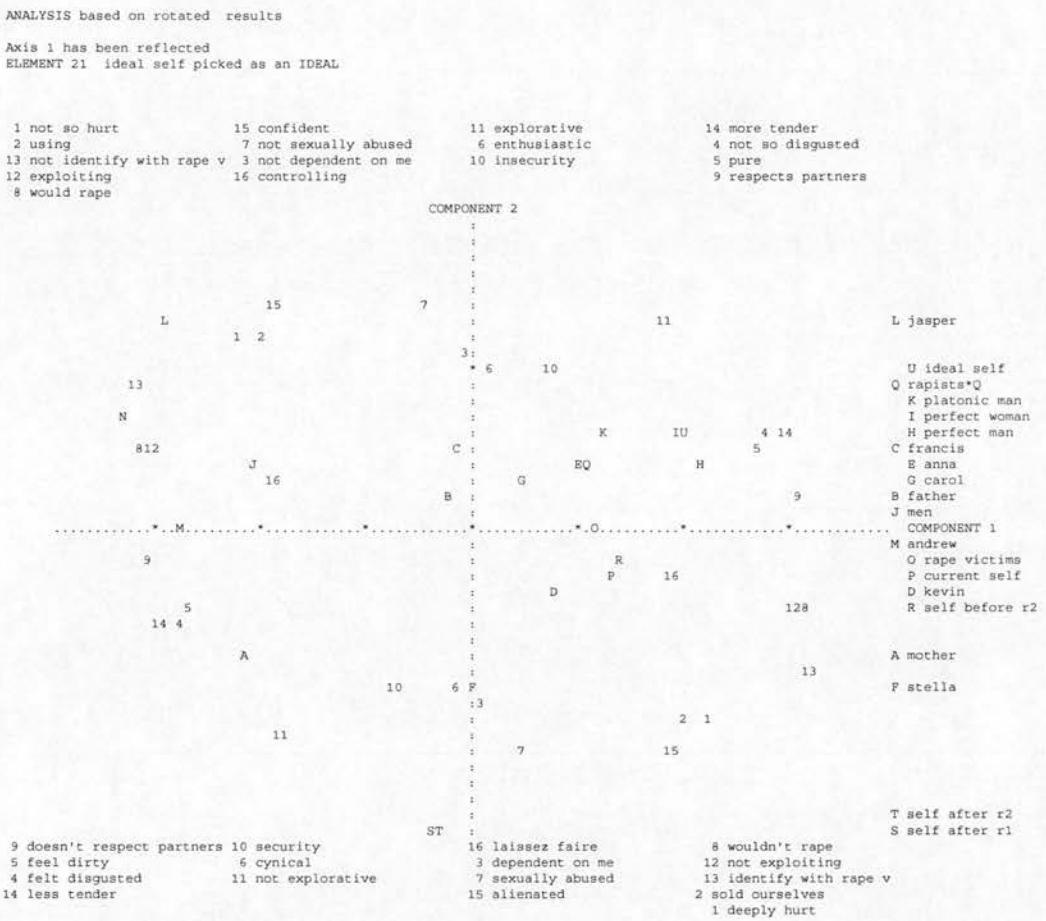
Principal Component 1

1. identify with rape victims - doesn't identify with rape victims (93.9%)
2. wouldn't rape - would rape (85.1%)
3. not exploiting - exploiting (80.7%)
4. Deeply hurt - not so hurt (78.9%)
5. alienated from one's body - confident (75.9%)
6. Sold ourselves - using (74.3%)

Principal Component 2

1. not explorative - explorative (82%)

Figure 5.4: Principal Components Analysis showing R4's construal of self in relation to personal experience of rape



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with empathetic/insensitive dimension. The second component is defined largely by investigative/non investigative dimension. These findings indicate that R4's current construal of others and self are largely defined in terms of empathetic/sensitive. The first component accounts for 36.13% variance. The second component accounts for 21.87% variance. This would indicate a fairly undifferentiated construct system. R4 views her world chiefly in terms of the dimensions identifies with rape victims/doesn't respect partners and explorative/alienated from self. Those people she thinks identify with rape victims include self before the second rape and rape victims. Her view of herself before the rape as a rape victim may be understood in the context of her experience of exploitation through drugs and prostitution. Those persons who R4 views as not respecting rape victims include boyfriend and rapists. Those persons who are considered explorative include her former self. Those persons she considers alienated from self include herself after the event. The explorative end of the construct

is a reference to other people and entfremdung or alienation from self refers to the way in which she viewed herself as a consequence of experience of rape. She locates the elements including friends within the same quadrant concerning explorative and those people who identify with rape victims. She locates the elements including her ex fiancé and friend of drug dealer close to rapists as exploitative. She also locates her mother as close to or similar to rapists. This may be explained by her relationship with her mother who was critical of her. The element men is placed close to these elements. Before the rape R4 viewed herself as more explorative and identifying with rape victims. After the second rape as identifying with rape victims but movement is in the direction of more alienated. In the immediate aftermath of the event R4 viewed herself as alienated from self. Her view of her present self shows how she sees herself more like the way she used to be before the second rape. The plot of relationships between constructs and elements reveals how ideally she would like to be like she was before the first rape. Thus she sees herself less as a victim and more like she was before.

5.6 Comparison of repertory grids - experiences of rape

In the light of examination of individual repertory grids subsequent analysis will seek to examine the similarities and differences of repertory grids elicited in relation to experiences of rape. Comparative analysis may involve an element of difficulty since the task will involve a degree of care to avoid imposing categories upon those provided by respondents which could violate the purpose of the project as a whole.

Figure 5.5: List of elicited constructs for personal experiences of rape

R1	R2
1. more fun - very serious 2. secure - vulnerable 3. trustworthy - untrustworthy 4. more open - reserved 5. more sociable - loner 6. more compatible - inexperienced 7. more lively - stuffy 8. bitter - more self assured 9. more confident - unsure 10. more in common - outsider 11. outgoing - quiet 12. understanding - quiet 13. more concerned - bashful 14. more honest - loyal 15. aggressive - gentle 16. distant - close 17. easy going - self centred 18. dominating - dominated 19. non violent - violent	1. tolerant - intolerant 2. more relaxed - highly strung 3. male thinking - male orientated 4. pleasant - unpleasant 5. male chauvinist - not male chauvinist 6. more confident - less confident 7. communicative - uncommunicative 8. irresponsible - responsible 9. controlled - spontaneous 10. defensive - easy going 11. not dependent on men - independent of men 12. settled - very unsettled 13. insecure - secure 14. self assured - not self assured 15. mistrusting - trustful 16. self centred - unselfish 17. impulsive - reserved 18. domineering - dominated 19. worthy - unworthy 20. sensitive - insensitive 21. careful - careless 22. fun - funless 23. quiet - loud 24. caring - non caring 25. being controlled - controller
R3	**R4**
1. have been raped - hasn't been raped 2. trustworthy - not trustworthy 3. gentle - loud and obnoxious 4. feel love towards - feel anger 5. insecure - more in control 6. reliable - unreliable 7. passive - aggressor 8. want them to be happy - want them to be miserable 9. vulnerable - threatening 10. threatening - secure 11. tactile - reserved 12. non hostile - hostile 13. no self confidence - more confidence 14. content - unhappy	1. Deeply hurt - not so hurt 2. Sold ourselves - using 3. dependent on me - not dependent on me 4. felt disgusted - not so disgusted 5. feel dirty - feel pure 6. enthusiastic - cynical 7. sexually abused - not sexually abused 8. would rape - wouldn't rape 9. doesn't respect partners - respects partners 10. security - insecurity 11. explorative - not explorative 12. exploiting - not exploiting 13. identify with rape victims - doesn't identify with rape victims 14. more tender - less tender 15. alienated from one's body - confident 16. controlling - laissez-faire

Figure 5.6: Relationships between constructs and elements for personal experiences of rape (preferred pole of construct underlined)

	R1	R2	R3	R4
Self Before	more sociable - loner more open - reserved	fun - funless	passive - aggressor	not so disgusted - disgusted (E1) explorative - not explorative laissez-faire - controlling (E2)
Self After	bitter - more self assured	insecure - secure mistrusting - trustful	unhappy - content	cynical - enthusiastic (E1, E2)
Current Self	more in common - outsider easy going - self centred	less confident - more confident not self assured - self assured	passive - aggressor	laissez-faire - controlling
Ideal Self	secure - vulnerable more understanding - quiet	fun - funless settled - very unsettled	content - unhappy	more tender - less tender not so disgusted - felt disgusted
Rape victim	loyal - more honest	less confident - more confident insecure - secure	insecure - more in control no self confidence - more confidence	respects partners - doesn't respect partners
Perfect woman	more self assured - bitter more honest - loyal	fun - funless	content - unhappy	more tender - less tender not so disgusted - felt disgusted feel pure - feel dirty
Previous Partner	violent - non violent bashful - more concerned aggressive - gentle dominating - dominated	non caring - caring careless - careful unpleasant - pleasant	passive - aggressor vulnerable - threatening	exploiting - not exploiting would rape - wouldn't rape doesn't respect partners - respects partners
Current Partner	more compatible - inexperienced trustworthy - untrustworthy more in common - outsider easy going - self centred	easy going - defensive fun - funless	feel love towards - feel anger non hostile - hostile reliable - unreliable secure - threatening	not sexually abused - sexually abused not dependent on me - dependent on me enthusiastic - cynical
Platonic Man	understanding - quiet secure - vulnerable	fun - funless	non hostile - hostile feel love towards - feel anger	explorative - not explorative
Men	dominating - dominated aggressive - gentle	controller - being controlled	threatening - vulnerable	controlling - laissez faire
Rapist	distant - close	non caring - caring careless - careful unpleasant - pleasant	wanting them to be miserable - want them to be happy threatening - vulnerable	not so hurt - deeply hurt using - sold ourselves
Perfect Man	more open - reserved more sociable - loner	easy going - defensive fun - funless	content - unhappy	more tender - less tender

Comparison of the repertory grids revealed both similarities and differences in construing of experiences of rape (see figure 5.5 and figure 5.6).

While the data gives emphasis to the unique and personal nature concerning construction of personal experiences, similarities in construction were noted in relation to how women who experienced rape constructed their worlds as a consequence of the experience of rape. The women viewed aspects of their world as more threatening. In particular, women viewed men and rapists as controlling and dominating. In view of their experiences, this is understandable. These constructed meanings however may to some extent be understood as stereotypical in nature. In particular, rapists were constructed as 'outsiders' or 'others' and this provides a way of differentiating them from self. While this may be useful in the short-term it may be beneficial for these women to be encouraged to elaborate their constructs concerning men in the future. This may involve either encouragement of dialogue with others or achieved through new experiences with men. However, in constructing men as a threat it is likely that women may avoid relationships with men and avoid testing their constructs. It may be argued that it was not just men and rapists who were constructed in stereotypical terms but victims as they were viewed as insecure.

Of particular interest was the way in which all women viewed themselves differently as a consequence of their experience of rape. The women viewed themselves as becoming more mistrustful, insecure and unhappy in their relationships as a consequence of their experience. It is also of particular interest to note that these women mentioned concerns about regaining their sociality in the future. Concern with regaining sociality is a neglected issue concerning the consequence of the experience of rape.

The grids revealed women as identifying closely with rape victims in the immediate aftermath of the event but how this was perceived as declining over time. Thus the term victim was viewed as less useful in relation to the construction of future identity. This finding concerning victim identity is often overlooked. Although feminist research recognises the significance of use of the term 'victim' and how use of the term 'survivor' is viewed as more constructive and has been adopted by agencies dealing with violence against women, victimology has given this area little attention and continues to use the term victim. Neither literature, however, shows how viewing oneself as a victim may be useful initially but later is subject to replacement. Previous literature neglects the dynamic nature of sense making by the victim about their

experience. Certainly these findings which revealed a diversity of meanings before and after the criminal event suggest that victims understand their experience of the criminal event in the context of previous constructed experiences.

The differences in construing give emphasis to the highly personal nature of construing. However, to some extent this variation in construing may be accounted for by the very different circumstances of the event itself. For example, the presence of different relationships between the women and their perpetrator. A further factor which may be seen as influencing construction would be the previous experiences of the person. For example, one woman had been raped twice, once by a near stranger and once by her husband. However, variation in construing can be attributed to the unique interpretations placed upon the event by the person and how the event is understood in the context of previous constructed experiences. Variation in elaboration may also be attributed to some extent to the lapse of time and intervening experiences. For example, clearly some women had differential opportunities to talk about their experiences with friends, family or Rape Crisis and therefore had more opportunities to construct more elaborate meanings surrounding the criminal event. Again, variation in construing may be attributed to some women being better at elaborating and making sense of the event than others. Differences in construction may also be understood as a product of the different ways in which information and experiences are 'made sense' of by the individual.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided the results from an application of computerised repertory grid technique in relation to an examination of the way in which women make sense of their experiences of rape. Using a case study approach the chapter showed how each woman construed their experience.

Comparison of the grids showed how all women viewed their world as threatening. In particular, women viewed men as similar to rapists chiefly as controlling and dominating. The women may be accused of using stereotypical categories. These categories in identifying threat allow the women to predict their worlds but they may be seen to be of limited usefulness and may be subject to replacement through reconstruction. It was suggested that constructing an element as a threat, may hinder testing and invalidation of this construct. The chapter revealed how women viewed themselves as insecure and mistrustful as a consequence of the experience of rape.

The results showed how women were concerned with regaining their sociality which is an aspect of rape which receives little attention.

Differences in construing may to some extent be explained by the different circumstances surrounding each event and the different previous experiences of each respondent. For example, some respondents had been raped before. Differences in elaboration may to some extent be accounted for by the differing opportunities women had to elaborate meanings surrounding the incident. For example, the women had differential experience of contact and support from family, friends or Rape Crisis. Differences in construing are to be understood as a product of the unique and personal nature of construing.

A further finding of interest concerned how women identified less with the identity of victim over time. This finding signals the limited usefulness of the term victim and the implications of this for agencies. Further, it shows how the construction of victim identity is to be understood as dynamic rather than static. Further, the grids revealed how victims understood their experiences in the context of previously constructed experiences.

The next chapter considers the findings from an application of repertory grid used to understand the experiences of housebreaking. In addition to exploring the nature of each individuals construct system, the chapter will compare repertory grids elicited in relation to experiences of housebreaking. Beyond this, it will compare repertory grids elicited in relation to experiences of rape with grids concerning housebreaking. The rationale for this is that agencies have tended to regard these experiences as discrete in terms of seriousness with experiences of rape classified as a 'violent crime' and experiences of housebreaking categorised as a 'property crime'. Also, academic preoccupation with measurement, conceptions of seriousness and over reliance upon quantitative methods can be considered to have led to limit our understanding of the victim's experience of crime. The aim is to show that by using a more qualitative approach the experiences of rape and housebreaking are qualitatively more similar by showing how victims revise their constructs representing self as a consequence of their experiences. The thesis will attend to this task.

CHAPTER 6

PERSONAL CONSTRUCTS AND EXPERIENCES OF HOUSEBREAKING

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from an application of repertory grid technique which was employed to examine the way in which people construct their experiences of a particular criminal event. This chapter examines how the experiences of housebreaking have been constructed by individuals. To convey the unique and personal nature of construing a case study approach has been adopted. This chapter will examine the nature and organisation of each individual's personal construct system. This will involve a two factor Principal Components Analysis. This procedure reduces data to two principal dimensions. This contributes to examination of the relationship between constructs and elements. It also assists with the interpretation of repertory grid data. In addition to examination of the various meanings constructed by respondents concern will be with establishing how constructs change as a consequence of the criminal event, in particular, the constructs representing self. The chapter will proceed by comparing the repertory grids elicited concerning experiences of housebreaking and this will be followed by a comparison of these grids with the grids elicited concerning women's experiences of rape.

6.2 Case study B1

Background

B1 is sixty four years of age, retired and married with four children. He is an owner occupier. The incident occurred in August 1993. He recalls how his wife had gone out for the evening. A friend had asked him to go out and on leaving the house he discovered that the door handle was broken. He was unable to re-enter the house since the key was on the inside of the back door and all the windows were closed. He contacted a joiner friend but was still unable to enter the house. He decided to stay with his daughter who lives nearby. The next morning the company responsible for installing the door arrived. They advised him that it might be easier to enter the house using the back door. On going to the rear of the house he discovered that the door had been forced. He felt that the person who had broken the door must have been a professional since it is impossible to overcome the five locks on the door. A representative of the company which had fixed his door entered the house first and

established that the house had been ransacked. On finding the key on the outside of the door the man said that B1 must have left the back door open which B1 denied. On the ground floor the television and video were missing. Upstairs the contents of drawers had been strewn around the room. Anything of value had been taken. This included retirement presents and a watch which had belonged to his brother who was now dead. He mentioned the sentimental value of his wife's ornaments. He mentioned how he experienced problems valuing stolen items for the purposes of insurance. He had no previous experience of housebreaking but had felt that their house was secure. Their house is visible from the main road but the back door is quiet. He remembers discovering footsteps and a carving knife in the back garden. He rationalised that at least he and his wife were not asleep in bed at the time. There was mess and clay marks everywhere. Wires were cut. Due to carrying out the search in the dark further items were found to be missing. The neighbours did not notice anything as they had also gone out for the evening and the house next door was unoccupied. When the police arrived they took fingerprints. The police gave the impression that they would return but did not. The sole advice they gave was that B1 should listen to conversations in the public houses. Even if the property was recovered he would not want it now because it had been in someone else's possession. B1 referred to how his friends could not believe that it could happen to them. Clearing up the house involved cleaning carpets and throwing underwear out. An acquaintance thought he knew the identity of the perpetrator. While he had invested in security marking items he had not bothered with an alarm. He has since purchased an alarm and feels more secure. He remarks that locking the door and putting the alarm on is another thing to remember. He refers to walking round the house to check security. The estimated total damage was £2,000. He recalls how the housebreaking might never have happened if the handle on the door had not broken and the blinds left open that evening indicating that the house was unoccupied.

List of elicited constructs

1. supportive - being supported
2. dependent - independent
3. inexperienced - experienced
4. cautious - more cautious
5. not angry - angry
6. able to give advice - unable to give advice
7. confident - not so confident
8. nervous - not so nervous

9. have conscience - no conscience
10. unprepared - prepared
11. caring - uncaring
12. closer - less close

Principal Components Analysis

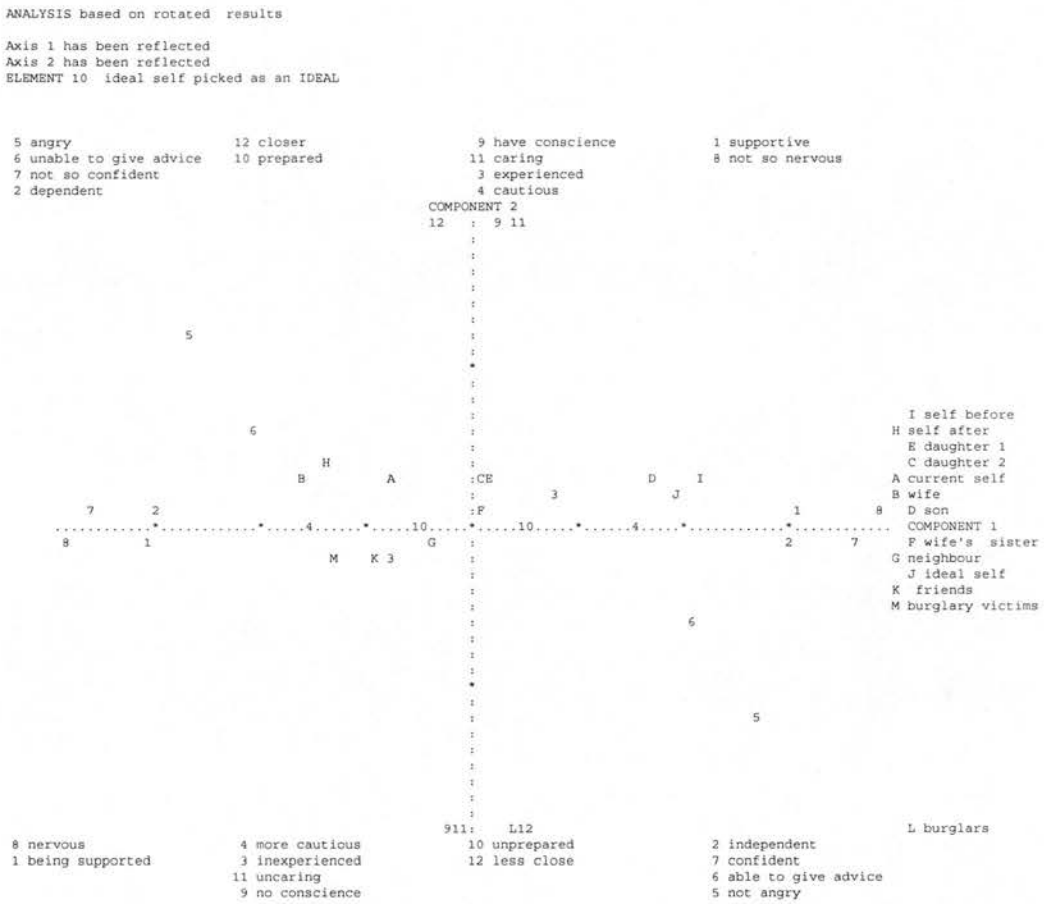
Principal Component 1

1. not angry - angry (92.8%)
2. confident - not so confident (81.8%)
3. not so nervous - nervous (80.1%)

Principal Component 2

1. have conscience - no conscience (86.5%)
2. caring - uncaring (86.3%)
3. closer - less close (78.3%)

Figure 6.1: Principal Components Analysis showing B1's construal of self in relation to personal experience of housebreaking



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with rational/irrational dimension. The second component is defined largely by solidarity/selfish dimension. These findings indicate that B1's current construal of others and self are largely defined in terms of rational/irrational. The first component accounts for 36.06% variance. The second component accounts for 25.67% variance. This would indicate a fairly undifferentiated construct system. B1 views their world principally in terms of the dimensions confident/nervous and less close/conscience. Thus B1 views their world in terms of people who are confident such as his self before the incident contrasted with those people who he viewed as nervous including burglary victims, wife and self after the event. The second dimension is concerned with those people that are considered less close contrasted with people who have a conscience such as current self and family. He views burglars as distant from all other elements. He views self before the burglary as supportive and helpful. This view is similar to the

way in which he views his son who is a policeman. This interpretation is based upon the short distance between these elements. In the aftermath of the event he viewed himself as angry and unable to give advice. This element is located close to the element, burglary victim indicating that he defines self after the housebreaking similar to burglary victim. His view of current self indicates similarity to view of self after and current self although the direction of movement of elements indicates less perceived similarity with burglary victims and concern to view self as he was before the event. Ideally, he would like to see himself like he was before the criminal event as confident.

6.3 Case study B2

Background

B2 is a retired single woman who lives alone and is the owner occupier. She recalls how the burglary occurred in October 1992 while she was on holiday. Earlier in the week she received a phone call from her brother informing her that her insurance company had folded and that she ought to reinsure her car immediately. He telephoned later in the week telling her that she should return immediately because her house had been broken into. Her neighbour was looking after the house and as he was putting his car in the garage he noticed her outside light and subsequently discovered the break-in. On hearing the click of her gate the wife of her neighbour attempted to pursue two men who left by the back. The neighbour discovered the backdoor open and mess inside and tidied some of this up. She drove home from her holiday. The burglars had entered through the back bedroom window and left through the back door causing a lot of damage to the locked doors in the process. She remembers feeling very angry on seeing the damage. She remembers how she the same house had been burgled nine years before in the weeks before Christmas. She felt that she had made her current house more difficult target for the burglars. In relation to the previous burglary she felt that a small child must have entered through a small window in the kitchen. In that instance the television and cassettes had been stolen. She remembers also realising that something was wrong when she saw the closed blinds. On this occasion, the burglars had stolen forty compact discs, a collection which had taken time to build. The compact disc player which she had received as a retirement present had not been taken. The burglars had turned over everything and on discovering a safe under the stairs they pulled it out causing extensive damage to the staircase which required to be reconstructed. During the

interview she brought out photographs showing the damage. It is only now that she can look at these pictures. Her brother and his wife stayed with her overnight. She recalls how in the immediate aftermath of the housebreaking a volunteer from victim support visited. She remembers feeling better for ranting and raving and getting it out of her system. All the while the volunteer listened. She also commented on a recent burglary of a friend living with her sister and even although there was little damage the police had been attentive. She feels that she had little contact with the police despite living on her own and having had a horrific experience. She decided to write to the police. In the days following the burglary she felt angry about things which belonged to her had been touched. She remembers washing bedding, clothing and everything. A friend helped her clean the house. She felt her privacy had been violated. One of the worst things was when a nurse from up the road commented that she had been broken into again. This set her thinking about whether the perpetrator was same child who had broken in the first time. She felt it had been strange that her house had been broken into while she was away since she had made arrangements and been discrete about going away. Another neighbour had also has their house broken into. This incident prompted her to have an alarm installed. The installer informed her that her house had been 'in the wrong place at the wrong time'. After the housebreaking she remembers not feeling able to leave the house initially just in case she found something wrong on her return. She also has time switches which had been installed prior to the burglary. At the time of the burglary the lights had not come on. She refers to having a light on in the back of the house regardless of whether she is in or out of the house. She also refers to not staying at home because of threat of intruders.

List of elicited constructs

1. calm - not calm
2. not been burgled - been burgled
3. angry - not so angry
4. impatient - patient
5. helps others - helps self
6. outward looking - inward looking
7. supportive - evil
8. not see bad in others - see bad in others
9. friendly - hateful
10. suspicious - not so suspicious
11. feeling of privacy invaded - feeling of freedom

12. secure - insecure
13. in control - not in control

Principal Components Analysis

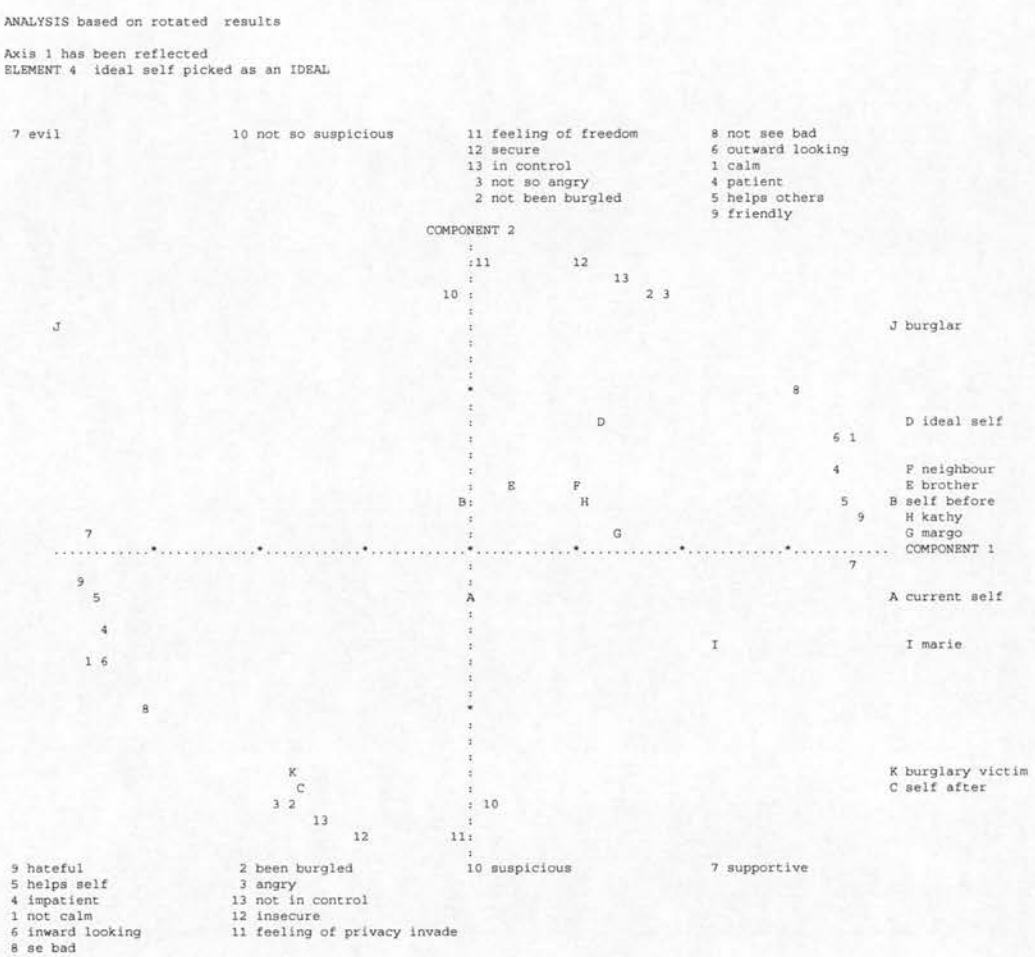
Principal Component 1

1. not see bad in others - see bad in others (94.5%)
2. calm - not calm (92.5%)
3. outward looking - inward looking (91.6%)
4. not so angry - angry (90.4%)
5. not been burgled - been burgled (86.7%)
6. in control - not in control (84.4%)
7. patient - impatient (84%)
8. helps others - helps self (78%)
9. secure - insecure (79.6%)
10. friendly - hateful (79.5%)

Principal Component 2

1. feeling of privacy invaded - feeling of freedom (72%)

Figure 6.2: Principal Components Analysis showing B2's construal of self in relation to personal experience of housebreaking



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with equanimity/agitation dimension. The second component is defined largely by violation dimension. These findings indicate that B2's current construal of others and self are largely defined in terms of equanimity/agitation. The first component accounts for 65.83% variance. The second component accounts for 22.44% variance. This would indicate a fairly undifferentiated construct system. B2's view of their world can be characterised by two dimensions. The first is concerned with people who are naive and inexperienced, for example her friends. This may be contrasted with those people B2 considers as evil and include the burglar. The other dimension is characterised by feeling of privacy invaded where she locates self after the event and rape victims. This is contrasted with those people she perceives as being in control including self before

the crime. Analysis reveals how she views her friends as dissimilar to her view of self before the event. This interpretation is based upon the large distance between elements. The element burglar is viewed as dissimilar from other elements. As mentioned previously she views self before the event as in control and how this view of self is viewed as subject to change as a consequence of the criminal event with her viewing self after the event as angry and burgled. This view of self is similar to her view of burglary victims although her view of current self reveals movement away from and therefore less similarity with burglary victims. The location of current self indicates movement towards a view of ideal self as not so angry and not having been burgled and therefore more similar to her friends.

6.4 Case study B3

Background

B3 is a married woman in her fifties with a family. She works full-time in a local jewellers. Her husband works abroad but is currently at home. Two of her three sons also live at home. They own their home. She recalls how the burglary took place one Friday afternoon while the family were out. The burglary was discovered by the husband when he returned from a bowls match and noticed that the back door was open. He thought that the reason for the back door being open was that one of the boys had come home from college. Upstairs, the chaos in one of the boys bedrooms was initially attributed to the boys. The neighbours who were sitting out in their garden didn't hear anything. A clotheshorse had been placed at the back door by the burglars to prevent possible disturbance by the occupiers. The owner suspected that the burglars had entered from the back garden since it was accessible through holes in the fence and the garden was fairly secluded with bushes. The husband thinks the perpetrators were young boys because if they had been professional they would have taken the coalport figure ornaments. Approximately £3,000 worth of jewellery was taken. The jewellery had been given to her by her husband. It was noted that some of the boys clothes were taken and how curiously the compact disc player had not been taken. He reckons that the sound of the fish van arriving in the street may have disturbed the intruders. After the housebreaking had been reported the police arrived and took fingerprints. The back door had been forced causing considerable damage. He recognises that they are in a vulnerable position because of the secluded nature of the back garden. Previously, they have had problems with glue sniffers. B3 felt upset about the burglary but reasoned that at least none of them had been hurt. She was

upset about losing her jewellery and in particular a ring given to her by her husband. She had come to some acceptance about the burglary saying you cannot get what is away. She recognises that while some people are frightened to leave their house after a burglary she is not. In the aftermath of the incident she felt particularly apprehensive if all of the family were out. The back door was replaced at a cost of £800. Since the burglary they have had an alarm installed and leave lights on in the house. When she goes away she does not leave a key with any of their neighbours. She reckons that if they were broken into a second time it would be different.

List of elicited constructs

1. been burgled - not been burgled
2. outward going - inward going
3. sad - angry
4. wouldn't steal - would steal
5. helpful - unhelpful
6. accepting - less accepting
7. bossy - less bossy
8. sympathetic - less sympathetic
9. understanding - upset
10. selfish - unselfish
11. self conscious - confident
12. irresponsible - responsible
13. quiet - rowdy
14. more self esteem - less self esteem
15. nervous - less nervous

Principal Components Analysis

Principal Component 1

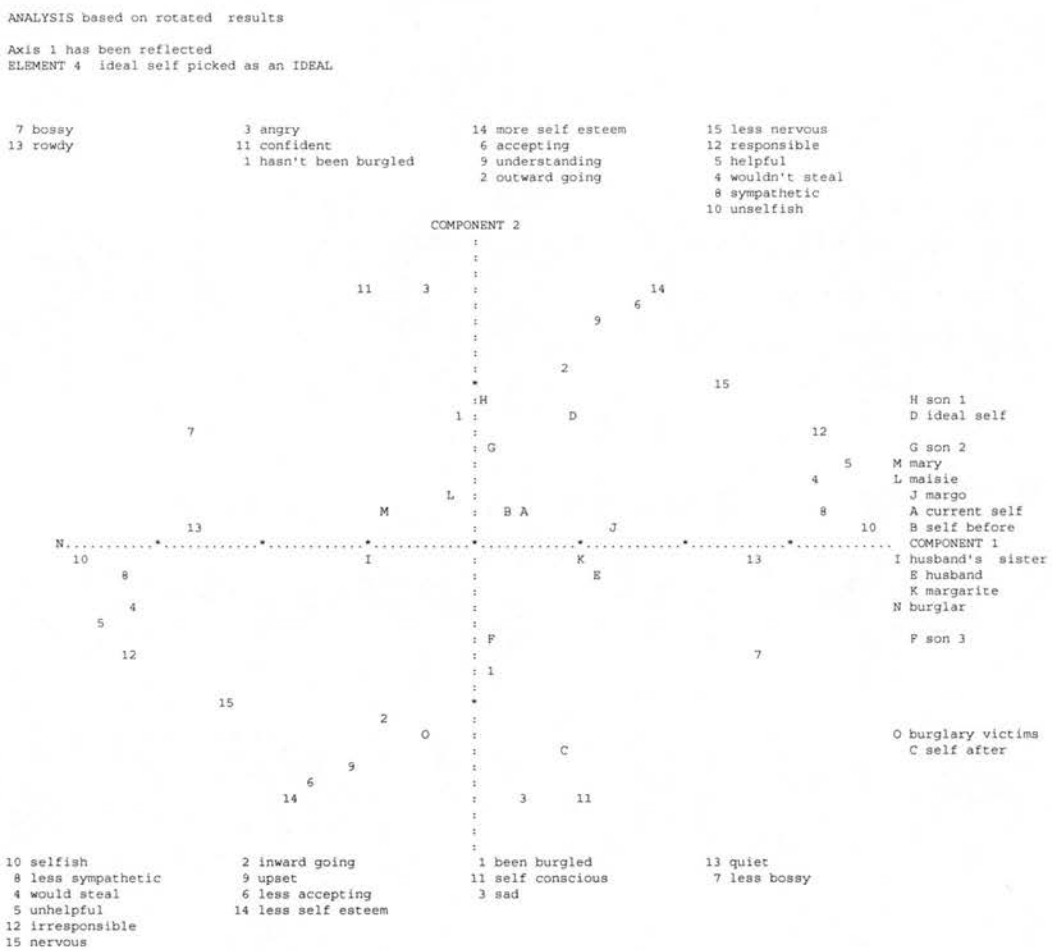
1. helpful - unhelpful (88.4%)
2. responsible - irresponsible (88.2%)
3. more self esteem - less self esteem (82.1%)
4. wouldn't steal - would steal (79.6%)
5. accepting - less accepting (79.6%)
6. unselfish - selfish (79.6%)
7. less nervous - nervous (77%)

8. sympathetic - less sympathetic (74.1%)

Principal Component 2

1. self conscious - confident (82%)
2. sad - angry (77.5%)
3. less bossy - bossy (71.7%)

Figure 6.3: Principal Components Analysis showing B3's construal of self in relation to personal experience of housebreaking



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with useful/ less useful. The second component is defined largely by introspective/outgoing dimension. The first component accounts for 44.24% variance. The second component accounts for 23% variance. This would indicate a fairly undifferentiated construct system. B3 views her

world as characterised by two major dimensions. She views her world as involving people who are helpful. Here, she locates her friends. This is contrasted with people who are less sympathetic. Here she locates the burglar. The second dimension is concerned with those people B3 views as self conscious and this includes the elements victims and self after the criminal event. This can be contrasted with those people she considers angry and confident. She views her friends and others as dissimilar from self before the burglary. She viewed self before the burglary as outward going. She viewed self after the event as self conscious and this view is similar to her view of victims. This interpretation is based upon the proximate distance between these elements. She views her current self as her self before and her view of current self may be viewed as less similar to her view of burglary victims. Ideally, however, she would like to have more self esteem.

6.5 Case study B4

Background

B4 is a twenty six year old woman, married with a baby and works part-time in a local video shop. They have been living in their council house for just over a year since returning from Germany where her husband was in the Armed Services. She recalls how she discovered the burglary on returning home one evening. She had been visiting a friend and had taken the dog with her. She remembers leaving the kitchen window open for her cat. She recalls how the window was damaged by the intruders. However, more odd was the sight of the valance on the sitting room floor and after that the sight of the kitchen door being open. In addition to this the bedroom curtains had been closed. It was not until the next morning that the police arrived to take fingerprints. It was thought that the burglars came in the kitchen window and left through the bedroom window. The neighbours had not heard anything. Later, she noticed how the fence in the back garden was lying on it's side. There had been a recent burglary in their neighbourhood. The burglars took video equipment and a wedding ring which had belonged to her husbands grandmother. She recalls feeling frightened about being left on her own in the house at this time. She felt frightened just to look out the kitchen window at the back in the event that someone was watching. Following the event she felt more aware. She listened out for conversations about videos. She felt that she didn't trust anyone. As she was fairly new to the area they did not know the neighbours. On the night of the burglary due to the window being broken the curtains flapped and so they slept that night in the

sitting room. They have heard little if anything from the police although they took fingerprints and there were also footprints. She reckons the intruders were young boys due to the training shoe marks. The police fuelled the idea that the perpetrators would be known to them. Their car had already been broken into twice this year. Consequently, she was taken into hospital with high blood pressure. She refers to how the girl in the hospital bed beside her had her house broken into on the same night that they had their car broken into. Her concern was with establishing who carried out the crime. Her sister thinks she knows who carried out the housebreaking. She feels angry that the police have not done anything. She feels forgotten. The police seemed more interested in why they owned two videos. She remains frightened about going out the back door at night in the event that someone is there. They are in the process of sorting out insurance. While they have a car alarm they do not have a house alarm. A dent on the video recorder is the sole form of security marking.

List of elicited constructs

1. settled - going out
2. working - not working
3. outgoing - quiet
4. wouldn't burgle - would burgle
5. same experience in life - inexperience
6. wants same things in life - too young
7. more aware - not aware
8. immature - mature
9. want to know - accepting
10. helpful - unhelpful
11. realise bad in others - not realise bad in others
12. nicer - selfish

Principal Components Analysis

Principal Component 1

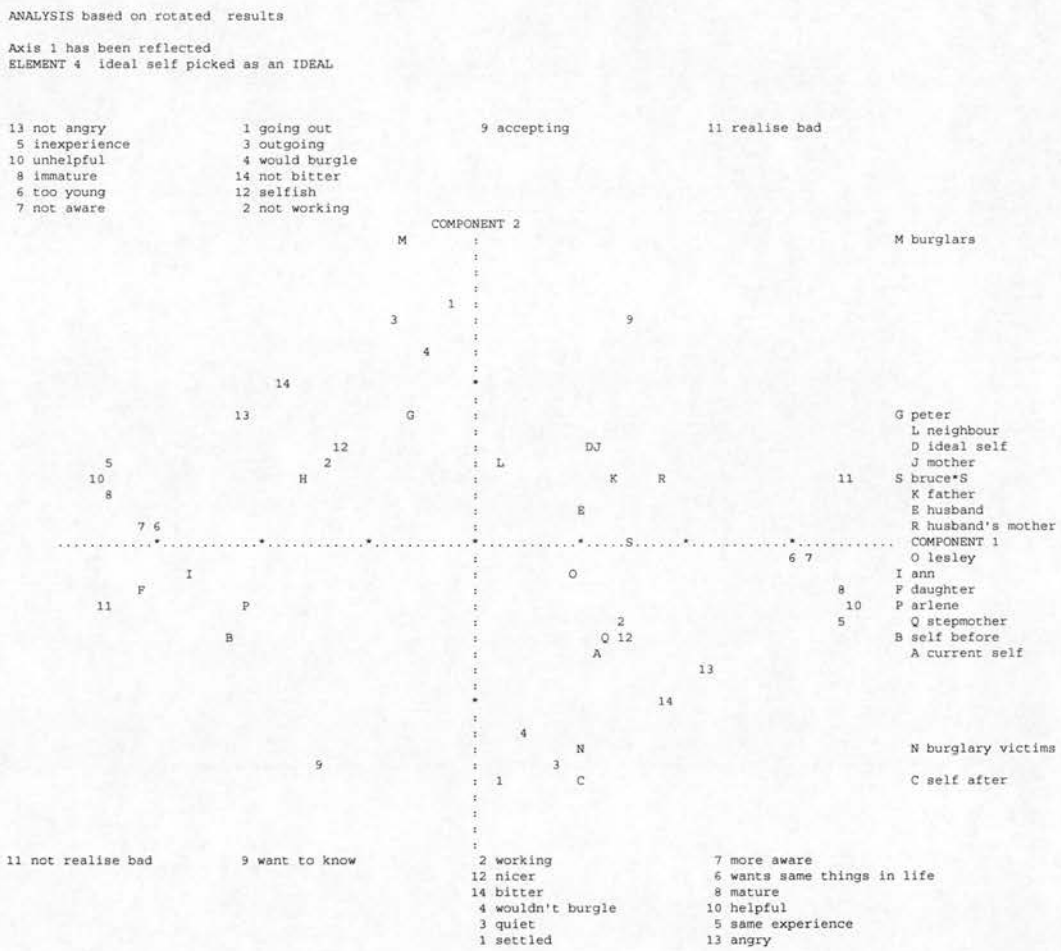
1. same experience in life - inexperience (92.1%)
2. helpful - unhelpful (91.7%)
3. mature - immature (88.2%)
4. more aware - not aware (76.3%)
5. wants same things in life - too young (74%)

6. realise bad in others - not realise bad in others (72.6%)

Principal Component 2

1. want to know - accepting (83.1%)

Figure 6.4: Principal Components Analysis showing B4's construal of self in relation to personal experience of housebreaking



Discussion

The first component appears to be concerned greatly with practical/impractical dimension. The second component is defined largely by a desire to comprehend/forgive and forget dimension. These findings indicate that B4's current construal of others and self are largely defined in terms of practical/impractical. The first component accounts for 41.25% variance. The second component accounts for 17.87% variance. This would indicate a fairly undifferentiated construct system. B4 views her world mainly in terms of people who are helpful for example such as the

parents of her husband. This is contrasted with those people who are considered inexperienced. Here she locates her self before the incident. The second dimension relates to those people who she considers settled. This includes the elements self after the burglary and burglary victims. This is contrasted with those people who are accepting such as burglars. B4 views her family and friends and different from self before the event evidenced through distance between elements. She views self before the event not realising bad in others as inexperienced. This view can be contrasted with her view of self after the burglary as settled. She views herself as similar to her view of rape victims. This interpretation is based upon the close distance between these elements. However, she views her current self as bitter and the distances between elements rape victims and current self show how she views her self as less similar to the victim element. Indeed the direction of movement indicates how she would like to be more accepting and therefore more similar to her friends. The movement of elements in relation to the constructs shows how rather than return to the way she was before the event the movement of elements suggests she views herself as dissimilar to previous self with concern to become more accepting. To some extent her experience of crime may be viewed as a positive experience.

6.6 Comparison of repertory grids for experiences of housebreaking

In the light of examination of individual repertory grids subsequent analysis will seek to examine the similarities and differences of the repertory grids elicited in relation to experiences of housebreaking. This may involve a certain element of difficulty due to the personal and highly individualised nature of construing and concern to avoid categorisation at the expense of categorisation by the victim.

Figure 6.5: List of elicited constructs for personal experiences of housebreaking

B1 1. supportive - being supported 2. dependent - independent 3. inexperienced - experienced 4. cautious - more cautious 5. not angry - angry 6. able to give advice - unable to give advice 7. confident - not so confident 8. nervous - not so nervous 9. have conscience - no conscience 10. unprepared - prepared 11. caring - uncaring 12. closer - less close	**B2** 1. calm - not calm 2. not been burgled - been burgled 3. angry - not so angry 4. impatient - patient 5. helps others - helps self 6. outward looking - inward looking 7. supportive - evil 8. not see bad in others - see bad in others 9. friendly - hateful 10. suspicious - not so suspicious 11. feeling of privacy invaded - feeling of freedom 12. secure - insecure 13. in control - not in control
B3 1. been burgled - not been burgled 2. outward going - inward going 3. sad - angry 4. wouldn't steal - would steal 5. helpful - unhelpful 6. accepting - less accepting 7. bossy - less bossy 8. sympathetic - less sympathetic 9. understanding - upset 10. selfish - unselfish 11. self conscious - confident 12. irresponsible - responsible 13. quiet - rowdy 14. more self esteem - less self esteem 15. nervous - less nervous	**B4** 1. settled - going out 2. working - not working 3. outgoing - quiet 4. wouldn't burgle - would burgle 5. same experience in life - inexperience 6. wants same things in life - too young 7. more aware - not aware 8. immature - mature 9. want to know - accepting 10. helpful - unhelpful 11. realise bad in others - not realise bad in others 12. nicer - selfish 13. angry - not angry 14. bitter - not bitter

Figure 6.6: Relationships between constructs and elements for personal experiences of housebreaking (preferred pole of construct underlined)

	B1	B2	B3	B4
Self Before	supportive - being supported	not so suspicious - suspicious	more self esteem - less self esteem	not realising bad in others - realise bad in others
Self After	unable to give advice - able to give advice angry - not angry	been burgled - not been burgled angry - not so angry	self conscious - confident	quiet - outgoing
Current Self	angry - not angry	feeling of privacy invaded - feeling of freedom suspicious - not so suspicious	less nervous - nervous	bitter - not bitter nicer - selfish angry - not angry
Ideal Self	supportive - being supported	not so angry - angry not been burgled - been burgled	more self esteem - less self esteem	accepting - want to know
Neighbour	inexperienced - experienced	not see bad in others - see bad in others	confident - self conscious	accepting - want to know
Burglary Victim	inexperienced - experienced being supported - supportive more cautious - cautious nervous - not so nervous	angry - not so angry been burgled - not been burgled	inward going - outward going upset - understanding	quiet - outgoing
Burglar	less close - closer	evil - supportive	selfish - unselfish	outgoing - quiet would burgle - wouldn't burgle going out - settled

Comparison of the repertory grids elicited concerning personal experiences of housebreaking revealed both similarities and differences in construing (See figure 6.5 and figure 6.6).

While construing was characterised by considerable heterogeneity, similarities were noted in relation to construction of the experiences of housebreaking. Respondents were seen to construct their worlds as consisting of people who were either helpful or inexperienced reflecting the practical concerns following experience of housebreaking. Further similarities were noted in relation to how those who had experienced housebreaking constructed others, in particular, burglars as evil, distant or selfish. In other words, burglars were constructed as outsiders or others. They were defined as a threat. By defining these elements as threats may provide a sense of order meaning to their world it may contribute towards avoidance of testing and invalidation of constructs. These constructs may be of limited usefulness and require to be elaborated in the future through reconstruction. These definitions may be viewed as being stereotypical although this may be a function of reducing reality to bipolar categories. Similarly, it may be argued that burglary victims were constructed in stereotypical terms.

One of the most interesting findings concerns how all people who had experienced housebreaking perceived themselves as changing as a consequence of the criminal event. Respondents viewed themselves as more negative as a consequence of the experience of housebreaking, principally as angry and suspicious of others. However, B4 thought the experience had been a constructive one insofar as they felt they had become a nicer and less selfish person. This was evidenced by the repertory grid elicited. However, one would avoid recommending the experience of housebreaking on the basis of this solitary experience.

Of interest also was the finding that all individuals who had experienced housebreaking while closely identifying with victims in the immediate aftermath of the event this was perceived as diminishing over time. It therefore indicates that the victim identity is of limited usefulness. This finding may be of particular interest to organisations such as Victim Support who provide a service for victims of crime which is focuses upon listening to victims and concern with the constructs of the person affected by crime. Thus, the service offered by volunteers can play a vital role through encouraging victims to provide constructive alternatives to definition of self solely in terms of the experience of crime. Finally, it was noted that the presence of

various constructs before and after the event is evidence that people who experienced housebreaking construct their experiences in the context of previous experiences.

The data gives emphasis to the personal nature of construing. It has to be said that variations in construction may to some extent be attributed to the different circumstances surrounding the housebreaking. Differences may also be attributed to the fact that some respondents, for example B2 had previous experience of housebreaking. Beyond these factors, differences in elaboration may to some extent be a function of whether the person had the opportunity to speak to others about their experience. For example, some respondents spoke to their family and friends about their experience while others had the opportunity to speak to agencies like Victims Support and this may have encouraged further elaboration of constructs. The repertory grids elicited reveal not particularly elaborated system of constructs. This may be explained by the event while unexpected since there was elaboration of meanings concerning self it did not violate the respondents expectations about the world to the same extent as the event of rape. The lack of elaboration may also be attributed to there being fewer elements upon which to base elaboration than in relation to the construing of experiences of rape. Differences in construing can also be viewed as a product of the way in which individuals 'make sense' of their experiences.

6.7 Comparison of repertory grids for experiences of rape and housebreaking

In the light of comparisons of repertory grids elicited concerning experiences of rape and comparisons of repertory grids elicited for housebreaking it is competent to undertake comparison of repertory grids elicited for rape and housebreaking. The principal reason for so doing stems from earlier concerns to show how the experiences of rape and burglary are qualitatively more similar than one would think through concern with the 'reconstruction of self'. This concern arose from previous literature which showed how agencies definitions of seriousness operate in such a way that violent crime was distinguished from property crime and therefore was seldom subject to comparison. Following on from this, the thesis demonstrated how in the academic literature concerns with measurement and seriousness have been problematic but overcome through the concept of impact. However, it was shown how the problem remains that quantitative methods have taken precedence and operate to obscure definition by the very people who have experienced crime. This lead to concern with the use of a more qualitative method which would be responsive to the personal experience of crime and in particular to comparison of the personal experiences of rape and housebreaking.

Similarities were noted between the group of participants with experience of rape and the group of participants with experience of housebreaking insofar as both groups viewed aspects of their world as threatening, evidenced by their construal of perpetrators. This may be viewed as a way of differentiating between self and other. By defining the perpetrator as other one can define oneself. The categorisation of the perpetrator may be viewed as somewhat stereotypical in nature. Likewise in relation to the classification of victims whether of rape or burglary they may be viewed as stereotypical but one also has to bear in mind that this may be a function of confining oneself to examination of bipolar constructs. Perhaps if the persons had been encouraged to elaborate upon the bipolar categories the definitions would have seemed less stereotypical.

Of particular interest was the finding that participants in both groups saw themselves differently as a consequence of the criminal event. However, each group used different constructs to define their worlds and themselves as a consequence of their experience of crime. The group concerning experiences of rape defined their worlds as being characterised by people who were controlling, dominating and aggressive. They defined themselves as insecure and mistrustful as a consequence of their experience. By contrast, the group concerning experiences of housebreaking viewed their worlds as characterised by people who were unhelpful or inexperienced. These respondents saw themselves principally as angry and suspicious as a consequence of their experience. These qualitative differences concerning the construction of experiences of rape and housbreaking may have been explored further using a technique which encouraged greater elaboration of meaning.

On the whole respondents perceived themselves as identifying less with victims over time and is therefore evidence of the limited usefulness of the construct of victim. In other words the experience of crime is one experience among many which is not perceived as taking over the identity of the individual through reconstruction by the individual. Beyond this, all respondents were seen to have divergent constructs before the event and divergent constructs after the event, an indication that all respondents understood their experience in the context of previous experiences.

The repertory grids elicited in relation to experiences of rape were more elaborate than those elicited in relation to housebreaking. This suggests that experiences of rape may have violated the construct systems of rape victims to a greater extent compared to the constructs system of victims of housebreaking. To some extent variation in

elaboration between these two groups may be explained by differences in the number of elements upon which grid elicitation was based.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the results from an application of repertory grid technique to examine the experiences of housebreaking. It showed how construing was unique and reflected the personal nature of construing. While there were considerable differences in construing there were also similarities. Grid analysis revealed how victims of housebreaking viewed their world as consisting of people who are either unhelpful or inexperienced. The chapter showed how people who experienced housebreaking perceived themselves as different as a consequence of the criminal event principally as angry or suspicious. It also showed how victims saw themselves less as victims over time.

A comparison of repertory grids for housebreaking and rape showed how there was considerable heterogeneity in relation to constructs elicited again there were similarities. Of central interest was how people who had experienced rape and those who had experienced housebreaking viewed themselves differently as a consequence of the criminal event. Qualitative differences concerning construction of the experiences were noted insofar as each group used different constructs to define their worlds and themselves as a consequence of their experience.

The next chapter seeks to summarise the main findings and interpretations of the data before looking at how these relate to the previous literature. Beyond these aims, the chapter will locate the empirical study in relation to the previous literature both in terms of its conceptual approach and methodology. The chapter will also make suggestions concerning the modification of the methods employed in relation to future applications and outline areas for future research.

CHAPTER 7

REFLEXIVITY AND THE 'DOCTORAL' PROCESS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the results from an application of repertory grid technique which was employed to establish how people construct their experiences of the criminal event. A particular concern of this application related to establishing whether the experiences of rape could be considered qualitatively similar to the experiences of housebreaking. There was evidence of qualitative similarities insofar as all participants were seen to revise their constructs representing self as a consequence of experience of rape or housebreaking. However, there was also evidence of qualitative differences insofar as each group of participants used different constructs to define their worlds and themselves. These qualitative differences concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking may have been explored further using a technique which encouraged increased elaboration. This chapter will attempt to reflect upon the findings and the contribution of the study as a whole. This will involve locating the findings in relation to the previous literature, considering the conceptual contribution of the victim as a reflexive experiencing subject in relation to the previous literature, examining critically the strengths and limitations of the current methodology followed by suggestions for improvement and indicating future areas for study.

7.2 Summary and interpretation of the current study's findings

The findings of the study revealed considerable heterogeneity of meanings constructed by victims of crime about their experiences of crime which give emphasis to the personal nature of construing. However, while there were differences in construing there were similarities insofar as the presence of shared constructs was noted among each group of respondents and how respondents on the whole viewed their world as riskier. Further similarities were evident, in particular, how those who had experienced crime constructed perpetrators in stereotypical terms principally as threats. This may be viewed as a form of risk assessment. The constructions of victims were also characterised by their stereotypical nature. The finding which was considered to be of particular interest concerned how people who had experienced rape and the people who had experienced housebreaking both viewed themselves differently as a consequence of the criminal event. This was evidenced through the

elaboration and reconstruction of constructs representing self. However, here it is important to note that while there were qualitative similarities there were also qualitative differences concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking. Individuals who had experienced rape constructed their worlds principally in terms of control and domination and viewed themselves as insecure and mistrustful with concern to regain their sociality in the future. The group of participants who experienced burglary constructed their worlds as consisting of people who were inexperienced or unhelpful. These practical concerns may be a consequence of the loss and damage incurred by the incident and subsequent concern with insurance claims and purchase and installation of security systems. They viewed themselves as angry and suspicous as a consequence of the experience of housebreaking. Thus, although the group of participants who had experienced rape and the group who had experienced housebreaking were seen to reconstruct themselves as a consequence of the experience of the crime, those who experienced rape constructed themselves using different constructs from those who experienced housebreaking. These qualitative differences concerning construction of experience of rape and housebreaking may have been explored further using a technique which encouraged increased elaboration. Of further interest was the way in which both those who had experienced rape and housebreaking identified closely with the status of victim in the immediate aftermath of the crime but how this was perceived by individuals as declining over time. Beyond this, the presence of a diversity of constructs before and after the event suggest that victims understand their experience in the context of their previous experiences.

The findings from this study may be interpreted accordingly. The highly individual nature of constructs elicited gives emphasis to the personal nature of construing. Thus, the criminal event means different things to different people. It is recognised that while elaboration of constructs occurred, in conditions of perceived threat, testing and invalidation of constructs and therefore elaboration of constructs is to be avoided. Again, testing and elaboration is a highly personal matter. The relatively restricted nature of elaboration among housebreaking respondents may be attributed to the criminal event being viewed as less beyond the range of the person's existing construct system than was the experience of rape. In other words, the experiences of housebreaking were perceived as less of a violation and unexpected in nature and thus less elaboration occurred as a consequence of this experience. A further explanation may be the relative lack of elements which elicitation of constructs from housebreaking respondents was based. In terms of similarities all respondents

constructed their world as more risky not as is more commonly thought of in the sense of physical risks but in terms of emotional risks and the risks associated with relationships with others. Construing the world in this way may help to avoid danger although just because the person construes their world as dangerous is no guarantee that the person will avoid victimisation. Although there is an emphasis upon elaboration and the confrontation of risk, it is recognised that in conditions of threat or lack of information elaboration may be less likely. There are often good reasons why a person avoids testing and elaborating their construct system and thus the person cannot be blamed. As said before, there is an emphasis upon elaboration and this entails risk. This approach is supported in recent writing where a strategy of anticipation and confrontation of risk is to be preferred over a strategy of resilience particularly if one is concerned to develop a safer system[1]. The presence of shared constructs was noted among each group principally the elaboration of constructs concerning control-lack of control and security-insecurity among women who had been raped and the elaboration of constructs angry-less angry and helpful-unhelpful among those who had experienced housebreaking. Thus despite an emphasis upon the personal and individual nature of construing there seems to be some shared meanings concerning the experiences of rape and housebreaking respectively. Therefore although principal concern has been with the individual and personal nature of construing, the influences of social processes upon individual construing requires to be investigated, in particular, the influence of experts upon construing by victims. The social influences upon the victim have already been recognised in relation to victim decision-making concerning the reporting of crime (Ruback et al 1984) and in relation to coping (Sales Baum and Shore 1984; Coates and Winston 1983). The findings revealed how in all instances the perpetrator was identified in terms consistent with threat. The construction of the perpetrator construed as a threat may provide a sense of order in the person's world. It may be viewed as a form of risk assessment. This may be understood as a boundary setting mechanism. In fixing the perpetrator as an 'outsider' or 'other', one can fix the self. To move away from one's stereotypes about the offender carries with it the danger of changing the world outside. However, it is only through changing the world outside that one creates new ways of seeing ourselves. The findings concerning close identification with victim status in the immediate aftermath of the criminal event and how this view of the self as similar to victim declined over time may be interpreted variously. For example, people who have experienced crime may view it as socially acceptable to be a victim

[1] See Wildavsky (1988).

in the short-term but not in the longer term. This brings into play the influence of social constructs. It may also be a function of victims defining themselves as different at large. In other words, it may be regarded as a statement by the victim of 'difference'. For example, "I am not like other victims. I am unique." It is not unusual for people who belong to a group with deviant status or unacceptable status to categorise themselves as the exception to the group. For example, alcoholics and stutterers may share the stereotyped view of their group but make themselves the exception (Bannister and Fransella 1986: 138). Victim status is viewed in stereotypical terms. The findings showed how both victims of rape and housebreaking saw themselves as changing as a consequence of the criminal event. This suggests that the event was perceived as unexpected in relation to the person's existing construct system. It shows how the persons sense of selfhood may extent to inanimate objects such as a house or personal possessions. Beyond this, it might be suggested that in showing how abstract constructs are subject to replacement by other abstract constructs, it may be suggested that the persons abstract constructs are replaced by abstract constructs supplied by 'experts' and how this will influence the way in which people who have experienced crime understand their experiences. The finding concerning how both those persons who experienced rape and housebreaking perceived themselves as identifying less with victims over time shows how the victim identity is of limited usefulness and therefore subject to replacement. In other words the experience of crime is one event among many life events and one which is not viewed as taking over the identity of the person. This view is supported further by the presence of a diversity of constructs before and after the criminal event. This shows how the construction of the event is influenced by previous constructions. Therefore, it gives emphasis to the importance of the context of constructions if one is to understand the experience of crime. This view can be contrasted with the criminal victimisation surveys which remove the victim from their context and which adopt a 'snapshot' view of the criminal event in which the event is seen as the sole defining constructor evidenced by the presence of strong shared constructs. It may be suggested that experience of crime would be better understood using a systems theory approach[2].

[2] See Young (1982)

7.3 Summary of previous research

The previous literature is characterised by an adherence to the positivist paradigm. Concern is with establishing causes and objective measurement and collection of 'facts' all of which is viewed as unproblematic. Concern has been with the classification of victim based upon observable characteristics and behaviour of victims. For example, early efforts sought to show the active role of the victim in precipitating the criminal event (Amir 1971). These studies may be regarded as seriously flawed since they rely upon the male offenders interpretation and this is compounded further by the interpretation of the male researcher. These studies may also be viewed as contributing to a victim blaming discourse (Ryan 1972). Similarly, those explanations which focus upon the 'lifestyle' of the victim may also be seen to contribute towards 'victim blaming' (Hindelang et al 1978). A major criticism of these explanations relates to the way in which assumptions are made concerning lifestyle as measurable. Lifestyle is viewed as some static entity rather than subject to change through reconstruction, most particularly, as a consequence of the criminal event. Concern with more accurate measurement of crime than previously provided by official statistics leads to a departure from theorising about victims to preoccupation with counting victims using the criminal victimisation survey. These surveys were viewed as allaying public anxiety about crime. The early surveys concluded that crime was not a considerable problem and that the risks of crime were low. It also concluded that women's fear of crime was disproportionate to the actual risk of victimisation and was therefore deemed 'irrational' (Hough and Mayhew 1983). These studies which sought to inform the public about the impact of crime may be viewed as limited in their ability to do so through treating crime as an objective measurable phenomenon since they ignore the subjective experience of crime. Thus the above demonstrates the 'context stripping' nature of positivistic research.

Critical perspectives emerged as a consequence of the criminal victimisation surveys which concluded that public concerns about crime had no rational basis. The left realists showed how crime was a real problem for some sections of the population. This involved employment of the local crime survey which showed how crime was a real problem for people living in inner cities and working class areas. Thus, the importance of the context of crime was highlighted. Claims to take the experience as defined by the victim seriously may be viewed as limited through employment of positivistic methods. In addition, claims made by the left realists concerning success in addressing women's experiences were dismissed by feminist researchers chiefly

on the basis of standpoint. Feminist research revealed how crime surveys underestimated women's experiences of crime (Stanko 1989). This aspect may be viewed as part of a larger effort to address malestream criminology. Indeed, feminist research has made major contributions to criminology in the form of innovative theoretical and methodological approaches. The need to develop a critical criminology has been highlighted by the policy oriented nature of research and uncritical acceptance concerning interest and support for victims of crime. Thus the need to take account of context has been recognised particularly in relation to the development of Victims Support and changes in agency practice for increased understanding. This may require the development of a more critical and dynamic victimology which is capable of taking account of the presence of various relationships, their influence upon subsequent construction and how these are subject to change.

Thus the discipline of victimology has been characterised by adherence to the positivistic paradigm and it is only more recently that critical perspectives have taken account of political context. Some of these questions have already been addressed by feminists and feminist researchers through the victim-survivor debates (Kelly 1988). Beyond this, victimology has completely ignored that victimisation research may be viewed as serving powerful interests, in particular, the interests of bureaucrats and managers and how this operates to neglect the interests of other stakeholding groups including victims (Guba and Lincoln 1989). Due to the largely positivistic nature of victimology, the discipline has not proceeded as far as thinking critically about the construction of victim or to ask questions about for whom the construction of victim is functional? Victims, state or society?

Earlier in the thesis it was shown how the constructions in victimology had been fairly unsophisticated and incomplete reducing the victim to little more than a static object viewed from the outside. A shift beyond the discipline of victimology to the academic territory of psychology was shown as contributing to a more sophisticated construction of the victim through concern with the cognitive processes of the victim. Here, studies gave emphasis to change through the individual's beliefs about the world being subject to reconstruction as a consequence of the criminal event. This literature contributed to a more dynamic understanding of the victimisation process. Here, a major limitation as with positivist victimology derived from over reliance upon quantitative techniques. These techniques may be seen to perpetuate the

categories or constructions of the researcher at the expense of those constructed by the victim of crime.

The previous literature demonstrated how crime was categorised by agencies on the basis of definitions of 'seriousness' as a crime, not as an experience for the victim (Moody and Tombs 1982; Ashworth 1994). For example, 'violent crime' was classified as distinct from 'property crime' with the former being classified as more 'serious' than the latter and thus seldom subject to comparison. A similar tendency was evidenced in relation to academic writing, and in particular, by criminal victimisation surveys (Anderson and Leitch 1996). Although, the experience or impact of rape is well documented (Burgess and Holmstrom 1979), the impact of burglary is less well known (Maguire 1980). In Scotland, the crime of housebreaking, the equivalent to the crime of burglary in England has received little academic attention. It is of interest to note that at one time the crime of housebreaking was categorised as an act of violence (Gordon 1978: 517). In the absence of research relating to housebreaking, reference was made to research concerning the crime of burglary. This research is characterised by an emphasis upon the employment of quantitative techniques (Maguire 1980; 1982). However, a qualitative study of burglary shows how the experience of burglary is one characterised by boundaries being broken and the need for boundaries to be re-established (Korosec-Serfaty and Bolitt 1986). Beyond this, comparisons were made using the concept of opportunity (Warr 1988). A single study undertook a comparison of the experiences of rape and burglary in terms of psychological responses (Wirtz and Harrell 1987). This study revealed that while there were similar patterns of responses among respondents responses were qualitatively different. In view of the above, there was thought to be some merit in the employment of a qualitative approach to understand the experiences of rape and housebreaking.

7.4 Relationship of the current study's findings to previous research

The findings of this study may be viewed as contributing to previous literature chiefly because of an awareness of the limitations of the positivist paradigm. The findings of the current study function in such way to encourage a shift from viewing the victim as a static measurable object subject to classification and categorisation, reduced to a statistic and subject to generalisation. The findings of the current study challenge previous findings since the victim is represented less as an objectified 'other' but as an experiencing reflexive subject. The current study promotes a view of

victims constructing meanings about their world and, in particular, the study gives emphasis to the unique constructions of events by the individual. It gives emphasis to the person reconstructing their world as a consequence of the criminal event. Rather than focusing upon the victim as a cause through concern with their actions and behaviour or relying upon the offenders interpretation or the researchers categories which may contribute to victim blaming, the study gives emphasis to the victims active interpretation and how this changes as a consequence of the criminal event. It therefore averts 'victim blaming'. It reveals people who experience crime less as passive but as resourceful. Rather than view the victim as a static object the findings reveal the victim as constructive in terms of meanings. It shows how the victim is creative in a cognitive sense and how their interpretations of the world change to deal with their changed circumstances. Whereas surveys reduce victims to a statistic and generalise about how this may under or over estimate experience of crime, the current findings highlight the individual and local context and how victims constructions are a product of past and present experiences. Whereas seriousness is conceived of as objective and measurable, it may be argued that the findings reveal more about seriousness as defined by the individual, in particular, how the experience of crime affects the construction of self and identity. In this way the current findings may be viewed as making contributions beyond left realism in that the left realists referred to the importance of taking issues as victims define them seriously but did so using a local survey. This study may be seen to contribute to the study of victims through the employment of a methodology which concerns itself with the elicitation of meanings constructed by the individual victim rather than those constructed by the researcher. The findings may be seen to be consistent with feminist approaches through concern with the standpoints of individual victims. The findings may be seen to contribute to critical perspectives principally through a recognition of using a methodology which tries to avoid categorisation by the researcher. Further, the current findings show how individuals who experienced crime viewed themselves less as victims over time. This suggests that the people who have experienced crime may view themselves as victims in the immediate aftermath but how the construction of self as victim is subject to reconstruction as a consequence of new experiences. This finding may be contrasted with apparent lack of critical thought given to use of the term 'victim' and 'victim identity'. Previous literature does not address the functionality of the term 'victim' nor does it tackle the concept of victim identity. Certainly the findings are suggestive of struggle by the individual to make sense of themselves other than as victim and indicate the limited usefulness of this concept for the person. The relationship between agencies and

victims and their influence upon construction by the victim require to be addressed. The findings may be seen to challenge legal and agency categorisations of seriousness since the findings show how construction of the experiences of rape and housebreaking are qualitatively similar because they involve the reconstruction of constructs representing self by victims. However, there were qualitative differences concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking insofar as each group was seen to use different constructs to define their worlds and themselves as a consequence of their experience. These qualitative differences could have been explored further using a technique which encouraged greater elaboration. The findings may also be seen to challenge academic categorisation of seriousness ascertained through employment of quantitative methods. Beyond this, the findings show how meanings constructed by victims as a consequence of experience of crime are subject to change or reconstruction. This can be contrasted with previous findings in which assumptions were made about the experience of crime as static and measurable phenomenon which is largely a consequence of adherence to the positivist paradigm.

7.5 Implications of the current study's findings

The findings of this study may contribute towards raising agency awareness about the perspective of the victim of crime. The findings will also raise agency awareness about the personal and different meanings attached to the event by the victim of crime. The findings may also raise awareness to the possibilities that experiences which may be viewed by agencies as different, for example violent and property crime, may actually be viewed as more similar when one takes account of the meanings attached to the event by the individual.

The findings showed how the experiences of rape and housebreaking resulted in the redefinition of self by the victim. However, although these similarities were noted differences in meanings were also noted. Respondents with experience of rape cited feelings of insecurity and loss of confidence as a consequence of their experience while those respondents who had experienced housebreaking mentioned how they became angry and suspicious as a consequence of the experience. Indeed, employment of a technique which encouraged further elaboration of meanings may have resulted in even greater differentiation of meanings concerning construction of the experiences of rape and housebreaking.

The findings may encourage agencies to view the victim as a reflexive subject engaged in successive construction and reconstruction of their world as a consequence of new information gained from new experiences. Agencies are led to think about the role and influence of others in relation to how the victim views their world as a consequence of their experience of the victimising event.

This may increase the awareness of agencies about their own views of the world and the possible influence of this upon the victim and how this may further our understanding of victims of crime. It may entail awareness about how staff/agency understanding changes as a consequence of the experience of contact with the victim on successive meetings and upon contact with successive victims.

The findings may therefore encourage agencies to give some thought to the introduction of training which may encourage the elicitation and elaboration of meanings by the victim. Such training may involve the development of communication skills and, in particular, the development of skills in listening. This could be achieved through the development and supply of information packs and role play exercises.

The above may encourage agencies to see themselves as working with victims to achieve change through helping the victim to construct more useful ways of seeing their world as a consequence of their experience of crime and help victims cope with the experience of crime. This will promote understanding on the part of victims and agencies alike.

These findings may be seen as making a valuable contribution to the further development of victimology. This is achieved through encouraging a shift from concern with identifying causes of victimisation and generalisation and categorisation of victims of crime using quantitative methods towards employment of methods which are more responsive to the individual. Rather than view the victim as a passive object the study encourages an alternative construction of the victim as an 'active interpreter' involved in the construction and reconstruction of meanings about their world. These findings may encourage victimology to employ methodologies which are more responsive to the individual if one is to understand experiences of crime more fully. Further, these findings in showing how meanings change over time are evidence of the need for the development of a victimology which is not only more responsive to the individual but for the development of theories and methods

which take account of influences upon construction, change in construction and concern with reconstruction.

7.6 The conceptual approach of the current study

The conceptual approach of the current study represents a shift beyond the positivistic nature of previous literature. Rather than view the victim as a cause a static or passive object the victim is viewed as an active experiencing subject engaged in the construction and reconstruction of meanings. In so doing it moves away from the tendency of positivistic research which was preoccupied with classification and categorisation concerning the characteristics and behaviour of the victim which may also be viewed as contributing to victim blaming. On the contrary, emphasis is given to the 'boundary setting' mechanisms employed by the victim of crime. This is evidenced by the victim defining the perpetrator as a threat which contributes to the victim making sense of their world and in particular their sense of self. Rather than conceive the victimising event as simple and unproblematic it shows how the event means different things to different people. Beyond this the study reveals the importance of context in relation to construction by the victim since the victim constructs experience in the context of previous experiences.

The study demonstrates an awareness of the powerful definitions supplied by agencies and academics principally through concern with the concept of 'seriousness'. The study also demonstrates awareness of the powerful relationship between victim and researcher through avoidance of the employment of a quantitative methodology in favour of an approach which is more responsive to the meanings constructed by the victim rather than those of the researcher. The study gives emphasis to standpoint and the production of knowledge from unique sites occupied by each person. The current study gives emphasis to a dynamic view of the victim constructing and reconstructing meanings for a purpose. For example, the construct, victim while helpful in the immediate aftermath of the experience of crime is viewed as less useful in the longer term in relation to the construction of self and is therefore subject to replacement.

The study therefore contributes to the existing discipline of victimology through concern with the powerful relationship between victim and researcher and recognition that the researcher may influence construction by the victim of crime. The study recognises the relevance of context insofar as it shows how victims make

sense of their experience in the context of previous experiences. The thesis recognises that there may be various influences upon construction, most notably those concerning agencies. However, the relationship between victim and agency in terms of construction requires to be empirically determined. To take account of these would require one to take account of various relationships and their changing nature. This would require the development of a victimology of considerable conceptual and methodological sophistication.

Of particular interest is the idea that victims construct meanings with a purpose and how this changes over time. The study urged one to think about how those who experienced crime viewed it as useful to construct themselves as a victim in the short term but how this declined over time. Previous research has failed to elaborate upon victim identity and whether it is of a temporary or lasting nature. Victimology has ignored to what extent identification with the victim may be a consequence of agency influences or indeed it's usefulness for victims. Beyond the immediate study, it may be suggested that the time has come to address questions concerning the functionality of the construction of victim. This is highlighted through the study showing how victims view the term victim as useful in the short-term and how the victim identity is subject to revision through new experiences. On another level there is a considerable interest in and support for the victim of crime among agencies and academics. This may suggest that the construct victim is of particular use to agencies and academics. This study has demonstrated how the categories employed by agencies and academics may obscure the voices of victims themselves and to some extent makes suggestions about how this can be overcome. The study however does not reveal to what extent the construct victim is perhaps more functional to the agency or academic. It might be suggested that the potency of the symbolic victim is such that there will always be resources available for the support of victims. It may well be that the victim may be less functional to agencies and academics in time through the definition of other social problems and that financial support for victims may decline. This analysis points towards the need for victimology to elaborate upon the context and the nature of relationships between victims and agencies, agencies and academics and victims and academics. Account will require to be taken of these relationships, their interdependence and influence upon construction and above all, how these are subject to change if one seeks a more sophisticated understanding of the experience of criminal victimisation. These remarks signal the importance of the development of a victimology which not only takes account of the nature and context of relationships between people who have experienced crime and agencies and

academics but how this necessarily will involve the development of theories and methods which take account of the dynamic nature of these relationships[3].

7.7 The methodological location of the current study

The current methodology was developed with an awareness of the limitations of positivist methodology. The current method represented a shift from an emphasis upon quantitative techniques which treat the respondent as an object, subject to measurement through the menu categories of a survey and reduced to a statistic to concern with a more qualitative approach. Beyond employment of a more qualitative methodology the technique was innovative from the point of view that it centred upon an interactive computer programme for the elicitation of repertory grids. One of the positive aspects of employment of this technology was the way in which respondents were supplied with on screen information about the technique and the importance of defining the purpose of the grid. Initially, difficulties were experienced by some respondents in relation to thinking in terms of bipolar constructs. One of the benefits of the method concerned the reduced opportunity for influence by the researcher in this process. Although reference was made to the qualitative nature of this technique there was a positivistic dimension to this since victims were required to rate each element upon each construct. The data was subject to a form of statistical analysis, in particular, cluster analysis producing a diagrammatic representation or dendrogram. The diagrammatic representation contributed to provision of immediate feedback which was appreciated by respondents. Grid elicitation was a fairly time consuming process of two hours duration. Had it been less so, further exploration of the personal construct systems of respondents could have been enabled through 'laddering' (Hinkle 1965) or 'pyramiding' techniques (Landfield 1968). On the whole victims enjoyed the opportunity to reflect upon their personal experiences. Despite earlier reservations, the computer programme worked as well in the field as in the office. In order to interpret the data, the data was loaded into a further computer programme enabling a Principal Components Analysis to be undertaken. This reduced data to two principal dimensions and therefore help with examination of the relationships between constructs and elements. The case study approach was viewed as providing the best means of appreciating the personal and unique nature of construing since it would give emphasis to the unique bounded nature of each construct system[4]. A particular problem experienced by the researcher related to the

[3] See Young (1982)
[4] See Stake (1994)

analysis of diversity of personal meanings without violating these meanings through imposing one's own constructions and thereby defeating the whole purpose of the project. This difficulty was compounded through attempting comparison of repertory grids. While problems of this nature may be overcome through the supply of constructs by the researcher to do so would have violated the entire purpose of the project. The technique was evaluated as successful insofar as elicitation of personal constructs was made possible, the personal nature of construing established and similarities between experiences of rape and housebreaking indicated through the constructs representing self being subject to reconstruction. However, qualitative differences between experiences of rape and housebreaking were also noted in relation to construction of the victims' worlds and selves as a consequence of these experiences. To some extent the method was experienced as confining since victims were restricted to bipolar constructs not exceeding twelve letters. The employment of qualitative techniques using personal experience methods (Clandinin and Connelly 1994) and, in particular, conversational analysis techniques would have been beneficial in encouraging greater elaboration of meaning[5]. Use of such techniques may have been useful in the elaboration of stereotypical categories which victims used to define perpetrators. Further, employment of these techniques may have helped reveal further qualitative differences between the constructed experiences of rape and housebreaking through encouragement with the elaboration of meanings concerning the construction of self and world. The employment of these techniques would necessitate greater awareness of the researcher concerning their role in the construction of meanings with the respondent during conversation. Beyond the employment of these qualitative techniques, qualitative analysis could be assisted through the employment of a computer package such as NUD•IST. The employment of these techniques may be seen as part of an increasing trend towards the utilisation of technology in qualitative research (Richards and Richards 1994). Employment of this technology may contribute to the research through increasing the ability to deal with data analysis concerning a larger research sample size. The repertory grid tool was limited in relation to revealing qualitative differences concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking. These differences could have been explored further using conversational techniques. One of the most interesting findings to emerge from application of this technique, however, concerned the issue of territory and the consequences of this for the data collection process. The interviewing of housebreaking respondents in their homes was seen to give more control to those

[5] See Gergen and Gergen (1991); Middleton and Edwards (1990)

respondents in the interviewing process than respondents interviewed in the researcher's office. Control was negotiated by respondents and ranged from asking questions to other interruptions which ranged from hospitality and attempts to make conversation to the production of documents and photographs which could serve the basis for further elaboration of meaning. The adoption of conversational techniques may require increased awareness on the part of the researcher in relation to their role in the construction of meanings with the respondent. The need for awareness on the part of the researcher is also highlighted through a recognition that each interview was understood by the researcher in the context of the preceding interview. Awareness of this could lead to more informed and sophisticated construction of meaning on the part of the researcher.

7.8 Future areas for research

Beyond concern with exploring the qualitative differences concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking there are several areas worthy of future research and one of them relates to the necessity of conducting an empirical study of legal and agency definitions. This would be of particular interest since the establishment of agency definitions was determined through a review of the literature and the empirical study was oriented more to establishing victims definitions than to establishing agency definitions. It may be of particular interest to examine more closely agency decision-making in relation to the determination of violent crime and property crime. It is envisaged that this could be achieved using qualitative techniques such as in depth interviews conducted with representatives from each agency and focus groups conducted with members of each agency group (Morgan 1988; Morgan 1993). In the light of this it would be of particular interest to examine the relationship between victim and agency from both the perspective of agency and the victim with a view to determining agency influences upon construction by the victim and the influence of the victim on construction by the agency.

Qualitative techniques could be employed to research the meanings constructed by victims as a consequence of agency contact with a view to establishing agency influences upon construing among victims. The techniques could be deployed in relation to researching how people construct their experiences of crime and how this changes over time noting the nature of such changes. Beyond these principal areas the techniques could be employed to examine more closely the fear of crime problem again focusing upon the relationship between victim and agency. The techniques

could be employed to examine the problem of multiple victimisation. Here, it may be of particular interest to examine the nature of constructions of the victim and the extent to which behaviour is a product of their constructions with a particular focus upon how this changes or not with successive experiences of victimisation. Beyond these principal areas, it may be of interest to explore gender differences in construing among victims and agencies.

The future areas of research have been identified and may be seen as encouraging use of more qualitative techniques which take account of the relationships between victims and agencies and their influence upon subsequent meanings constructed but also increased recognition about the way in which meanings are subject to change. In this vein, a central concern of victimology should be with establishing the extent to which the construction of victim useful, to whom is it useful, why is it useful, how is it useful and how this is subject to change over time. To achieve this, will entail taking account of the various and changing nature of relationships. This will require the development of a victimology which of some theoretical and methodological sophistication which is dynamic in nature if one seeks to achieve a more informed and sophisticated understanding of victims.

7.9 The function of reflexivity and the 'doctoral' process

The role of personal reflexivity in relation to the research process has already been highlighted. However, the need for personal reflexivity is to be given greater emphasis in the context of the current study where a major concern was with demonstrating how agencies 'construct' the experience of crime through concern with the processes of selection and organisation of information. It can be argued that these processes are equally as important for understanding the role of the researcher vis a vis the research process. The need for personal reflexivity is given further emphasis through the suggestion that the employment of conversational techniques may contribute to future understanding about the experience of crime. The personal involvement of the researcher is frequently excluded in research accounts although it may be argued that the researcher should be included in research accounts due to their involvement and influence in processes of construction. It may be argued that recognition of this involvement may further understanding of the phenomenon under study. For example, the review of the literature can be viewed as a product of processes of selection and organisation by the researcher and thus the review of literature may be viewed as a personal product. The review of the literature may also

be viewed as subject to subsequent alternative construction by the researcher. Certain information may be seen as more useful than other pieces of information and therefore was included and this may be understood to be a product of the personal views of the researcher. For example, the literature which focuses upon agency and media constructions was of a disparate nature and could have been subject to alternative organisation and interpretation. On reflection, synthesis of this literature could have been achieved by conceiving of the victim as a consumer and the experience of crime as a commodity. By contrast, the literature concerning the psychology of victimisation was considered to be of considerable interest to the researcher and more useful in relation to the task of the thesis since primary concern was with the personal experience of crime. To some extent the appeal of the psychological literature influenced the choice of methodology although an interpersonal influence in the decision to use the repertory grid tool is to be noted. The technique was brought to my attention by a friend who was using repertory grids in relation to housing research. The nature and size of sample was determined principally through contact with agencies who contacted possible interested parties. Although research access was sought and granted, my status as a postgraduate student undertaking research for the purpose of a doctorate and the protective attitudes of organisations which offer victim services may have operated to limit the number of respondents participating in the study. Initially, the grids were elicited with women who had experienced rape. The experience of gridding experiences of rape informed the researcher about the possible distress experienced by respondents during data collection process but most particularly how grid elicitation was of a lengthy nature. On the basis of this experience the exploration of construct systems was confined to a single meeting. Having made reference to becoming more experienced and aware about the method in terms of it's scope and limitations, the researcher could have demonstrated more awareness about how their own constructs changed as a consequence of each interview through appending notes and comments about one's own constructs after each interview. In relation to the process of grid elicitation with people who had experienced housebreaking it is to be noted that the decision to conduct these interviews at the homes of respondents was made on the basis of convenience for the researcher and respondent. Indeed, it was this decision which resulted in the unexpected results concerning the issue of territory or location of data collection giving greater control to respondents in relation to the research interview and how the provision of objects including documents and photographs may provide a further source and encouragement with the elaboration of meaning. Thus the context of construction is an important consideration since it may influence

all subsequent construction. This may raise awareness about the importance of context and for the researcher to consider and make explicit their decision making in relation to this issue in future. The repertory grid may be viewed as successful insofar as it revealed the personal constructs of individuals and indicated qualitative similarities concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking evidenced by the revision of victims' constructs representing self. However, in view of some of the difficulties experienced by the respondents in relation to the elicitation of dichotomous constructs and rating of constructs and concern with revealing qualitative similarities followed by subsequent concern with qualitative differences concerning construction of experiences of rape and housebreaking by victims, construction of the victims' world and self as a consequence of these experiences could be explored using conversational techniques and computer software programme for qualitative research. The issue concerning the exclusion of the researcher from research accounts and the need to address this created tensions for the researcher. Due to an overriding concern with satisfying criteria of 'thesisness' the researcher eliminated much of their personal involvement in the research process although the thesis argue for the researcher to articulate their role in the construction process. Indeed, this issue was raised during the oral examination of the thesis and resulted in the inclusion of this section concerning the personal reflexivity of the researcher in the research process. In returning to the text, one becomes aware of the alternative constructions available to the researcher. Perhaps these alternative constructions might be accommodated within a book or provide the basis for an article at some future date. This section has sought to show how the researcher is encouraged to become more aware of their involvement in the in the 'doctoral' process particularly in relation to making explicit the contributions of the researcher and the influence of others in the construction process. This process may be facilitated by the use of computer programmes for qualitative research which allow for the inclusion of notes, memos and conversations concerning all persons involved in the production process which may then be subject to analysis. One final point or can it ever be if one is speaking from a constructivist position. In the constructivist position no construction is ever final and while the amendments are made to satisfy the requirements for a doctorate degree, subsequent alternative constructions reached by the researcher require to be accommodated in a book or provide the basis for subsequent research. It is important to acknowledge that involvement in the research process does not end with the thesis but may contribute to subsequent alternative constructions which are increasingly informed and sophisticated in nature. Thus, the thesis contributes to current understanding and future possibilities.

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter has reflected upon the contribution of the current study. It has shown how the findings from the current study represent a major contribution to our knowledge about victims principally through a shift away from the dominant positivist paradigm. The employment of more qualitative techniques may be seen to contribute to understanding the individual and personal nature of experiences of victimisation. It therefore challenges much of the literature relating to rigidity created by agency categorisation and categorisation by the academic by alerting academics to the employment of qualitative methodologies which are more oriented to the experience of the individual. The study reveals the important role which technology can play in the employment of more qualitative methodologies. Beyond this, the study highlighted how the experiences of people who have experienced 'violent crime' and 'property crime' may be viewed as qualitatively more similar through the experience of crime resulting in the revision of constructs representing self. The study also alerts the researcher to the qualitative differences concerning construction of the experiences of rape and housebreaking, in particular, construction of the victims world and self as a consequence of these experiences. The study also draws attention to how qualitative differences concerning construction of these experiences may be explored further through the employment of techniques which encourage greater elaboration. The study may be viewed as highlighting the need for victimology to address questions concerning the function of the construction of victim, influences upon construction and recognition concerning constructions as subject to change through reconstruction. This will involve a victimology which takes account of the various relationships and their dynamic nature. In other words, victimology requires to develop theories and methods which take account of the changing nature of relationships. On the basis of discussion so far which gives emphasis to processes of 'construction' and 'reflexivity', the final chapter proposes a model of victimology based upon the constructivist paradigm. The implications of this model for methodology are considered. The chapter seeks to show how this model may contribute to a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the experience of crime.

CHAPTER 8

TOWARDS A CONSTRUCTIVIST VICTIMOLOGY

8.1 Introduction

This study may be viewed as providing a 'constructive alternative' to previous research accounts about the experience of crime. Earlier, reference was made to how previous research concerning the experience of victimisation relied almost exclusively upon the positivistic paradigm. This thesis has sought to demonstrate how these accounts provide a limited understanding of the experience of crime. In particular, understanding is based upon the uncritical acceptance of categories supplied by both agencies and academics. The powerful nature of these categories is seen to be derived from an emphasis upon assumptions about objective measurement being possible. These powerful categories not only deny the experience of crime as defined by the victim but ignore how these powerful processes of categorisation rather than fixed in nature are to be understood as subject to change or reconstruction. The recent emergence of critical perspectives in victimology has leavened this situation slightly through concern with the political context of victimisation. In response to previous accounts and their preoccupation with objective measurement and reliance upon quantitative methods, this study adopted an approach oriented to the elicitation of meanings constructed by victims of rape and housebreaking. Whereas previous accounts would have regarded these experiences as discrete and quantitatively different, the current study has sought to show how these experiences may be viewed as more qualitatively similar through the revision of constructs representing self. However, the study also revealed qualitative differences concerning construction of these experiences in relation to the construction of the victim's world and self as a consequence of these experiences. These qualitative differences in construction may have been explored further through employment of a technique encouraging increased elaboration. Whereas previous accounts provide a simplistic construction of the victim as a reified object capable of measurement, as passive and ideal or as active and to blame, the current study shifts one towards an appreciation of the experience of crime as dynamic and the victim as an experiencing reflexive subject involved in the construction and subsequent reconstruction of their experience of crime. The study also recognises the need for the development of a victimology which takes account of the context in which construction takes place. This will involve taking account of various relationships and their influence but also of the need to accommodate the dynamic nature of these relationships. Thus the

discipline of victimology will require to develop more sophisticated theories and methods to take account of this. The current thesis has demonstrated awareness of the conceptual and methodological limitations associated with the positivist paradigm. In view of these comments, the thesis concludes by advocating a shift towards the constructivist paradigm as contributing to a more sophisticated understanding of the experience of crime. This shift may be viewed as having major implications for methodology since in contrast to positivistic methodology in which the researcher occupies a neutral stance throughout the research process a constructivist methodology views the researcher as actively creating the findings through collaboration with the respondent. This highlights the need for researchers to be aware of their own constructive involvement in the research process.

8.2 The constructivist paradigm

To understand the constructivist paradigm it is useful to contrast the underlying ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions associated with positivist and constructivist belief systems. The basic ontological assumption of the positivist paradigm concerns an apprehensible reality is assumed to exist. The epistemological assumptions connected with the positivist paradigm concern the investigator and the investigated object are assumed to be independent and the investigator is assumed to be able to investigate the object without influencing it or being influenced by it. In the event of influence, strategies are adopted to reduce or eliminate it. The values and biases of the researcher cannot influence the outcomes if procedures are followed and if the findings are replicable they are regarded as true. Positivist methodology is characterised by an orientation towards experimental and manipulative approaches. It may be seen to be concerned with the verification of hypotheses and a tendency towards the utilisation of quantitative methods.

By contrast, the major assumptions connected with the constructivist paradigm are different. The ontological assumptions connected with the constructivist paradigm are such that realities are viewed as apprehensible in the form of multiple mental constructions which may be local or experiential in nature and which may be shared among individuals. Constructions are not true or false but are viewed as more or less informed and or sophisticated. The epistemological assumptions associated with this paradigm view the relationship between the investigator and object of investigation as interactive and that findings are created as the investigation proceeds. Constructivist methodology is hermeneutical and dialectical. Constructions can only

be elicited and refined through interactions between the investigator and respondents. These emergent constructions are interpreted using hermeneutical techniques and compared and contrasted through a dialectical exchange with the aim being to achieve consensus and with emergent constructions more informed and sophisticated than previous constructions including the construction of the investigator[1].

8.3 Modernity and it's consequences for understanding the experience of victimhood.

It is important to consider modernity since it provides a context in which to understand the experience of victimhood. Giddens' account gives emphasis to the need for reflexivity on the part of the individual. By locating the victim in the context of modernity it becomes possible to understand how victims develop more informed and sophisticated understandings about the experience of victimhood and how this contributes to our current concern with promoting understanding about the experiences of crime.

Modernity is characterised by a break with the past through the media and time-space transformations (Giddens 1990). Tradition has been replaced by rational knowledge and reliance is placed upon the rational knowledge of experts and abstract systems. Certainty is undermined by the 'reflexivity of modernity'. Trust is no longer personal but based upon 'experts' and abstract systems. Associated with the reflexivity of modernity is the importance of risk assessment (Luhmann 1993) which is emphasised through the increase in environments of risk including the financial markets. Here 'experts' are seen to assist with risk assessment and abstract systems may contribute to a sense of security. The individual may be understood as part of this reflexive system trying to reflexively construct a sense of self[2].

Pre-event Constructions

The person may be located at the centre of a complex web of beliefs about victimhood. In the context of modernity it becomes understandable how people may have fairly sophisticated understandings of the experience of crime prior to direct personal experience. Understanding the individual in the context of modernity one

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[1] See Guba and Lincoln (1989: 79-116) and/or Guba and Lincoln (1994)

[2] See Giddens (1990); Giddens (1991); and Beck (1992); Luhmann (1993).

may begin to understand how the person relies upon information from the media with which to understand crime and information from experts in order to evaluate risk. Previous literature has acknowledged how personal beliefs about crime may be shaped by the media but how risk assessment requires to be grounded in personal experience (Skogan 1986). As hinted at earlier, it may be argued that the 'vicarious experience' of crime (Young 1996) through the media may result in promoting risk assessment by the individual.

By employing this approach it becomes possible to understand how victims in the 1990's would understand their experience of victimisation very differently from victims in the early part of this century. Beyond direct or indirect experience of crime people rely upon the media and television experts to understand their experiences of crime (Sparks 1992). The victim may be seen to develop increasingly informed and sophisticated understandings of victimhood through the experience of images and reconstructions of the criminal event provided by the news media. These understandings may be based upon local or national news, television programmes including reconstructions of the event provided by programmes like Crimewatch and television talk shows where victims are encouraged disclose information concerning their experience before a television audience. Indeed, perhaps the experience of victimisation is better understood as a commodity to be bought and sold. The loss of certainties may also furnish possible explanations for increased claims to victimhood. There are considerable representations of crime contributing to the 'vicarious experience' and imagination of crime (Young 1996). Little attention has been devoted to the impact of such images for victims understanding of their experience of crime.

8.4 The colonising discourse of agencies and it's implications for understanding personal experience of crime

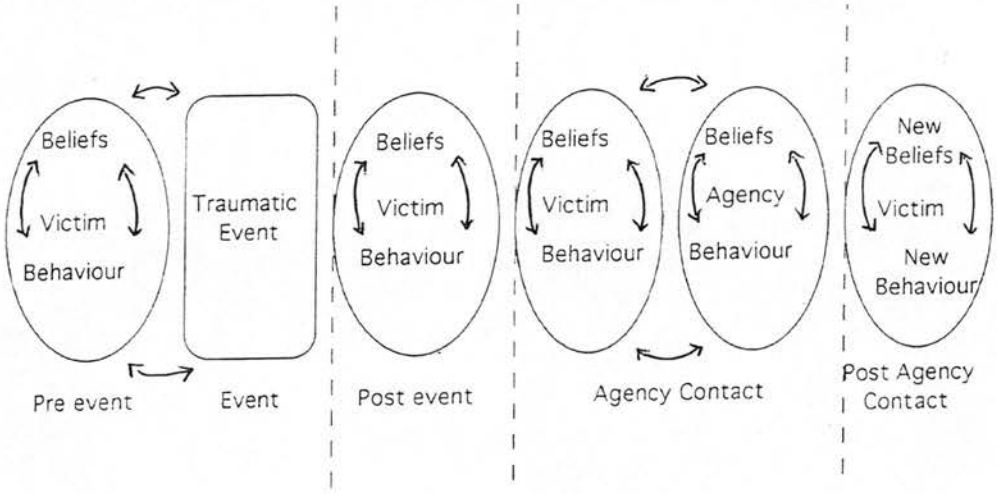
Assuming the incident is reported to the police, the victim will be required to make a statement. Police contact will be directed towards establishing whether a crime occurred and details of the incident. Contact with the victim will be for the purpose of obtaining information and as such the interview will be oriented towards the establishment of 'facts' and with satisfying bureaucratic requirements such as the police report. Victim contact with the police may have serious implications for the way in which victims understand themselves. For example, if the victim felt that they were not being taken seriously and were disbelieved the person may view themselves

less as a victim. Due to concern with satisfaction of bureaucratic criteria the victim may view themselves as a 'non person' (Shapland 1985). This may be compounded through lack of further contact. Thus the police interview may have profound consequences for understanding on the part of the victim.

Beyond contact with the police, the victim may be visited by a volunteer visitor from Victim Support. While such contact may be oriented towards listening to the victim an element of the interview may involve reassurance of the victim by the volunteer. The volunteer may reassure the victim of housebreaking that it is normal to feel the way they do. This may contribute to the person feeling less unique. In addition, the interview may be oriented towards establishing the 'needs' of the client. As a result of this interview the person may view themselves as a person with certain 'needs' including compensation. While an individual who experienced housebreaking and who received assistance from Victim Support may construe themselves as a victim it may be anticipated that as a consequence of contact with Rape Crisis a woman may view herself as a 'survivor'.

In the unlikely event that the victim is required to attend court the victim may have certain expectations. These expectations may be influenced by information gained through the media but more likely based upon information selected and constructed from friends and neighbours (Tyler 1984). Inaccurate information may contribute to the over anticipation of crime and increased concern about crime evidenced by elevated levels of fear and anxiety and change in lifestyle. More common, the experience of the criminal justice system may be equated with inconvenience and lack of information. Consequently, it would be of little surprise if the victim perceived themselves as unimportant and undervalued and therefore reluctant in relation to future involvement in the criminal justice system. In relation to the experience of giving evidence in which the professionals exercise control in the construction of their case the victim may view themselves as a 'case' whose experience is unimportant. Personal experience of the criminal justice process may influence the victim to revise his or her beliefs about crime and themselves.

Figure 8.1: The social construction of the victim's experience



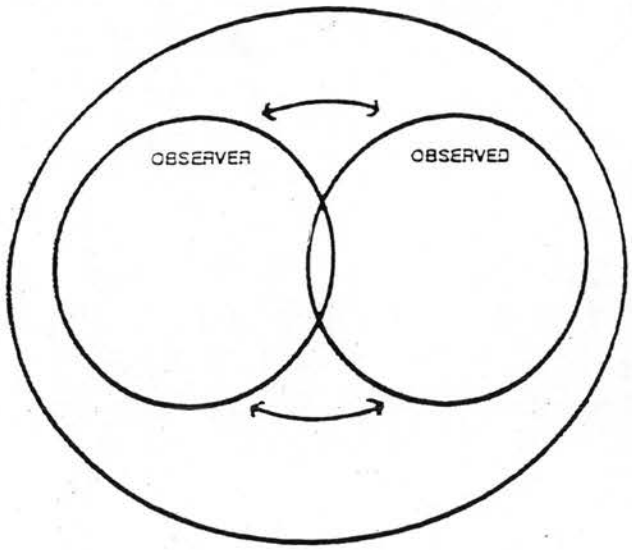
Thus the constructivist conceptual framework outlined here reveals how the victim of crime constructs meanings before the criminal event and how beliefs about crime, risk and self are subject to reconstruction as a consequence of contact with agencies. It suggests how victims may come to construct their world using the powerful categories provided by agencies. For example, victims may construct themselves as a 'good case' or a 'bad case'. Thus the meanings constructed by agencies may be viewed as colonising the victims experience of crime. It may be suggested that the victim understands their experience by drawing upon the categories provided by agencies in what may appear to be some kind of self referential or recursive system. Just as agencies may be involved in the colonisation of the victim's experience similar claims may be made concerning the involvement of academics and the research process. This situation highlights the importance of awareness on the part of the researcher in relation to the collaborative nature of emergent constructions and for strategies of resistance to reducing the victim to an 'other' if one is to contribute to increased knowledge and understanding concerning the experience(s) of victimisation.

8.5 Implications for methodology

Previous accounts of victims have relied almost wholly upon the positivistic paradigm in which the researcher is viewed as neutral, objective and standing outside the research process. By contrast, a constructivist approach recognises that the researcher actively constructs, makes or creates knowledge through interactions and

negotiations with respondents during the processes of data collection and data analysis (Viney 1987; Viney 1992). Thus constructivist methodology may also be viewed as promoting a more equal relationship between the researcher and researched.

Figure 8.2: Constructivist methodology: the relationship between researcher and subject



This approach highlights the importance of awareness on the part of the researcher about their constructive role in the research and how account of this may be taken account of in relation to textual constructions of the research. Compared with positivistic methodologies in which the researcher is viewed as standing outside the research and is regarded as neutral, constructivist methodology recognises how the researcher may influence emergent constructions through their values and beliefs during the stages of data analysis and report writing. Thus the research process may be understood as involving processes of successive construction and reconstruction leading to more informed and sophisticated constructions (Viney 1992).

Reflexive elaboration of an event

An example of a constructivist methodology is Gergen and Gergen's (1991: 88) interactive approach to inquiry referred to as the 'reflexive elaboration of the event'. In conventional research it is presumed that there are real world objects to be explained. By contrast, 'reflexive elaboration of an event' involves setting up a

discourse around a given set of events and elaborating on the meaning through conversation. The investigator generates a series of provisional interpretations of a range of phenomena. This is followed by the investigator opening the phenomenon up to scrutiny by others. The interpretations that emerge from this dialogue are used to elaborate upon or question initial understanding. In subsequent phases other voices are added to the emergent body of interpretations. The overall aim of this approach is 'to expand and enrich the vocabulary of understanding'(ibid p88). Although this is not a fully elaborated example of reflexive understanding, this attempt may provide the basis for stimulating further dialogue (Gergen and Gergen 1991). This approach constitutes what is known as a reflexive methodology (Steier 1991). Thus, rather than keeping the self outside his or her constructions, the researcher is required to recognise their constructive involvement in the research process.

Fourth Generation Evaluation

Earlier in the thesis concerns were raised about victimology's neglect concerning victimisation research serving powerful interest groups. In particular reference was made to the boundaries of research being determined by managers and clients and this was viewed as neglecting the claims, concerns and issues of other stakeholding interest groups (Guba and Lincoln 1989). This type of evaluation is seldom challenged due to adherence to the positivist paradigm. In response to the shortcomings of previous evaluation, Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose evaluation based upon the constructivist paradigm. They propose evaluation based upon a 'hermeneutic-dialectic process' which encourages the development of joint constructions (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 174) This process is interpretative and encourages comparison of and contrasting divergent constructions to achieve 'synthesis'. The goal of constructivist inquiry is the achievement of 'consensus' on issues and concerns that define the nature of the inquiry.

The above approach provides the basis for 'fourth generation evaluation' (Guba and Lincoln 1989) which involves responsive focusing using the claims, concerns and issues of stakeholders as organising elements and constructivist methodology to develop consensus among stakeholders. Carrying out the methodology of fourth generation evaluation involves twelve steps:

1. Initiating a contract with the client or sponsor commissioning the evaluation;
2. organising the evaluation;

3. identifying the stakeholders;
4. developing within-stakeholder-group joint (collaborative, shared) constructions via the hermeneutic/dialectic circle process, specifically focusing on claims, concerns and issues (CC&I);
5. testing and enlarging within-group constructions by introducing new or additional information and by enabling group members to achieve higher levels of sophistication in dealing with such information;
6. sorting out resolved CC & I - those on which consensus has been reached;
7. prioritising unresolved CC & I;
8. collecting information bearing on unresolved CC & I;
9. preparing an agenda for negotiation;
10. carrying out a negotiation;
11. reporting via the case study - the joint construction as product; and
12. recycling (Guba and Lincoln 1989: 185).

An evaluation of Fourth Generation Evaluation

The major benefits of this approach are that it takes account of the interests of all stakeholding interest groups and contributes to a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the phenomenon under study. Guba and Lincoln (1989) recognise that there are both costs and benefits to adopting this kind of thinking and way of going about evaluation. These costs include a loss of certainty and the lack of an objective truth. Thus, there is no real way of finding out about how things 'really work'. This approach may also be viewed as involving a loss of control on the part of the researcher to the stakeholders since the stakeholders will play a more equal role. In relation to the loss of control there may be methodological consequences arising from the possibility that stakeholders may threaten technical parts of the study. Further, the methodology itself, may become a tool of struggle between rival stakeholding interest groups. By moving away from concern with the generalisable to concern with the more local and specific ideas about solving social problems may be abandoned. In relation to concerns about the loss of absolutes and loss of control and inability to find widely useful solutions to problems Guba and Lincoln (1989) remind one that these are only constructions which are held on to and which are no longer useful. Guba and Lincoln (1989) recognise that preoccupation with universal solutions has meant that more local and useful solutions have been neglected. Further, preoccupation with control has resulted in evaluations which fail to give control to the people that one is supposed to be helping. Evaluation which is based upon the constructivist paradigm replaces the arrogant claims associated with

positivist methodology concerning the ability to find out how things 'really are' with the constructions created by the inquiry. The major strengths of this approach may be seen to derive from the substitution of certainty with relativity, control with empowerment and generalised understanding with local understanding. However, a major limitation of fourth generation evaluation concerns the availability of resources.

The research interview and reflexivity

In contrast to positivist methodologies, constructivist methodology emphasises a collaborative approach between the researcher and respondent in which the researcher is urged to be aware of their involvement in the process of construction. The reflective nature of the research interview process may address the inequalities between researcher and researched by conferring a degree of control upon the respondent. King (1996) recognises the importance of reflexivity on the part of the researcher in connection with carrying out the research interview. She recognises that the research interview by it's very nature requires an element of control by the researcher if one seeks increased understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. She recognises how giving some control to the respondent during the interview may not only contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon but contribute to understanding oneself as a researcher. The process of interviewing may be viewed as one which involves encouragement of the informant to tell their story. This process involves an element of risk on the part of the respondent in relation to telling their story to a stranger. Thus, the researcher may require to earn the trust of the respondent. The development of the relationship between researcher and researched may rely to some extent upon disclosure by the researcher. This itself, raises questions about how much information one ought to disclose to respondents about oneself. Thus the research interview involves a degree of control and direction by the researcher. While respondents enjoy the opportunity to reflect upon their experiences the researcher may require to control the interview as a form of boundary setting concerning the nature and quality of interaction with respondents. In addition to making decisions about self disclosure the researcher is required to think about ethical concerns. The responsibility of the researcher is highlighted in relation to encouraging a person to tell their story about an event which was distressing to the respondent. In this respect, King (1996) makes the important distinction between the research interview and the counselling interview. In the former situation the participants are there to help the researcher rather than the vice versa. However, she recognises that the use of counselling skills may foster understanding of the

phenomenon under study since it may raise awareness on the part of the researcher and enhance their understanding of themselves and awareness about the way in which they control and direct interviews. Other skills which King recognises as helpful in the research interview include active listening, summarising, the employment of sensitive questioning and the use of non verbal skills. The above highlights why it is important for the researcher to become a 'reflective practitioner' (Schon 1995) since reflection upon the experience of the research process and review of practice may promote further understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Resistance to othering

In relation to qualitative research there is always the danger that the researcher does not convey the interactive or joint nature of the construction process and imposes his or her constructions and ignores construction by the respondent particularly in relation to the process of writing and in creating texts. The researcher may represent themselves as neutral and may 'speak for' or on behalf of the victim thereby preventing the voice of the victim to be heard. Fine (1994: 70) refers to this process as 'othering'. She argues that it is important for the notion of 'struggle' to be introduced into qualitative texts. She recognises that the boundaries between 'self' and 'other' rather than being fixed categories are to be understood as negotiated. However, the relationship between the researcher and researched is frequently hidden. When writing about those who have been 'othered' the existence of a hyphen is denied. She suggests that when researching people who have been exploited it is important to 'work the hyphen'. By 'working the hyphen', the researcher may allow the researcher and informant to decide what is and is not happening. Fine recognises the negotiated relations of story telling. For the researcher it is important to ask oneself who is the story being told to and why is it being told. Further, one might question why a person's story is hidden and what are the consequences of this. Fine (1994:74) suggests that 'we may self consciously or not decide *how* to work the hyphen of self and other, how to gloss the boundaries between, and within, slippery constructions of 'others.' However, even when the words of informants are used to interpret, organise and construct texts, it is the researcher who decides how to construct their relations with those who are regarded as 'others'. In many instances researchers act as if they were a neutral channel and thus 'othering' is reproduced. Fine (1994) notes how in writing about subjugated others there is a tendency for 'context stripping' to occur in which the writer strips the informant from their context of struggle as if somehow the researcher was neutral. If the creation of texts

is the result of a collaborative enterprise it is important for the researcher to think about their relations with the people who have been defined as 'others' to enable 'resistance to 'othering'. In this regard, 'othering' can be 'interrupted' through the inclusion of subjugated voices. Reference is made to legal texts and how these may 'bury' victims voices. Fine (1994) noted how work in this area has attempted to privilege the experiences of victims by encouraging readers to listen to subjugated voices not as 'others' but as primary informants on 'othering' and as a primary source for rethinking the law. However, there remains a tendency for the researcher to construct self and other as dichotomous categories. It is important for qualitative research to render the constructions of selves and others as less fixed. A consequence of this approach will be that work of this nature will never 'arrive' but must always struggle 'between' (ibid p75). Examples of the process of 'othering' and its relevance are provided in relation to research carried out in the courts. Here, the researcher is confronted with deciding how to retell the stories which others tell to secure a hearing. In other words one is faced with listening to the story as long as the teller is not the 'other'. A consequence of this is the reproduction of power and the regeneration of the 'other'. Further, as a researcher one is reminded that one cannot privilege raw experience over analysis. The time comes when people decide that they are tired of hearing 'others' speaking on their behalf and that only they can speak for themselves and their problems. Fine (1994) refers to how she as a female may tell men to stop speaking for her but also to stop speaking for others. This brings one to the controversial issue as to whether it is only women who can tell stories of violence. Here, the major hazard is the possible sentimentalising of narratives and withdrawal from analysis. Fine (1994) notes how in relation to feminist methods there has been a withdrawal from interpretation. Of further particular concern is there are a number of academics who claim that no one may speak for others. Already, activist researchers are struggling with some of these tensions through working with the voices of those people that are subjugated. They have sought to develop strategies oriented towards the avoidance of 'othering' in relation to writing. As Fine notes, this area may itself become a become a site of struggle in the future. To conclude, Fine (1994) notes how post-modern feminist writing has stimulated 'critical dialogue' among qualitative researchers with the prospect of the development of qualitative research which is constructed against 'othering'[3].

[3] See Giroux (1991), Hooks (1989)

8.6 From reflexive criminology towards a 'reflexive victimology'

Various arguments have already been made concerning the need for criminology to take account of reflexivity (Nelken 1994). Nelken (1994) has urged the study of criminals to become more self conscious about it's role in the construction of criminals and crime. He recognises that an important question criminology has to ask itself concerns the extent to which criminology understands it's own constructions of criminals. Before seeking to argue the case for a reflexive criminology it is important to establish what is meant by 'reflexivity' since it seems to mean different things to different people. This point is well demonstrated by Ashmore (1989) in his book The Reflexive Thesis (1989) in which he devotes an entire chapter to an encyclopaedia of reflexivity and knowledge. The book itself demonstrates his awareness of managing the inherent reflexive and self referential nature of his work. However, it is important to locate the meanings and relevance of reflexivity for the criminologist. Reflexivity may provide a way of overcoming the beliefs about a theoretical starting point (Cain 1990). It may also be considered to be a characteristic of the way in which post modern or late modern society functions referring to both individuals or systems in modern society (Giddens 991, Beck 1992). Reflexivity may also refer to the research process involving collaboration between the researcher and informant (Steier 1991). Further, reflexivity has been viewed as a form of control of modern societies through the stimulation of self regulation (Teubner 1983; Teubner 1988; Teubner 1993).

It has been argued that reflexivity can help with the construction of an agenda for further theoretical work in criminology. By thinking about reflexivity the theorist may become more conscious about the way in which they theorise. It may also direct attention towards the recursive nature of contemporary systems, discourses and agents which seem to reproduce themselves (Teubner 1983; Teuber 1988; Teubner 1993). Thus criminology may define and transform itself and it's boundaries and so reinvent itself. If one is to understand crime and criminal victimisation a more reflexive approach is to be employed which highlights how criminals are defined. Disciplinary boundaries have become less important. Academic territories have been revised and increased through drawing upon other fields of study including cultural studies (Young 1996). Academics are increasingly informed by ideas from post-modern writings (Young 1996). Reflexivity is viewed as an important part of the process of textual construction. Boundaries are subject to alteration and consequently the gaze of the criminologist extended even further. This brings one to a consideration about how far criminology is aware of its own way of seeing. For example, to what extent is criminology conscious about the way in which it

stereotypes offenders. In addition to the above, a reflexive approach draws attention to the importance of context. For example, one has to think about the way in which criminology interacts with its environment and the influence of this upon subsequent criminological constructions. Further examples of reflexive practice are to be found in relation to the way in which society is becoming increasingly reflexive both at the level of the social system and at the level of individual behaviour . This is highlighted in the work of Beck (1992) who refers to risk assessment providing a way of colonising the future in the face of risks inflicted by society upon itself. Giddens (1990) emphasises the self monitoring and the reflexive organisation of the self. Young and Rush (1994) note how due to the loss of certainties the victim stands out as a 'liminal figure' and how the victim functions as a source of certainty about the experience of crime. Young and Rush (1994) suggest that in a climate characterised by 'loss of horizons' the victim represents the finality of reality. The victim may be thought of as a 'universal subject' in which the universal victim is the subject and object of criminological investigation. Young and Rush (1994) suggest that crime is understood by the criminologist because he or she has experienced victimisation like everybody else. Concerns about the need to reveal 'subjugated voices' has already been raised. To some extent there has also been critical examination of the way in which texts represent offenders with some texts appearing more reflexive than others. Nelken (1994) recognises that encouragement with reflexive writing may function to divert attention away from some of the problems created by including conflicting voices and dialogues and the problems this creates for readers. Texts are constructed for audiences and this requires to be explored further. Thus a reflexive criminology is one which rather than being spoken for or represented as 'other' or 'outsider' encourages offenders to speak for themselves. This type of approach requires personal reflexivity on the part of the criminologist (Cain 1990). The criminologist will require to attend to textual constructions and the contexts in which constructions are produced.

On the basis of the findings principally that victims reconstruct their world as a consequence of their experience of crime and awareness of various influences upon emergent constructions including agencies and academics it may be argued that the time has come for the study of victims and researcher to recognise their involvement and influence in the research process as characterised by a process of what this research defined as 'joint construction'.

This research requires us to recognise that theorising victims is influenced by previous constructions of victims. For example, the dominant construction of the victim is as a measurable static object. This study represents a departure from this view. The findings which encourage greater awareness of the victims constructs and recognition of their influences upon construction is of particular relevance for the researcher. There are, in particular, methodological implications for the researcher. In addition the researcher will require to give some thought to the context of construction since this will influence all subsequent construction. This issue was highlighted by the study's finding which indicated differences between the process of grid elicitation conducted at the office of the researcher and at the home of the respondent. Any decisions taken by the researcher require to be made explicit with reasons.

The researcher requires to employ methods which are responsive to the constructions of victims yet at the same time recognise their own constructs, and role in the construction of meanings with the victim.

This will involve the use of special skills during the data collection process:

- The researcher may utilise reflective techniques to ensure the victim agrees with the emergent construction.
- The researcher may require to be aware of how the victim's constructs are subject to various influences prior to and following initial contact.
- The researcher may require to be aware about how their own constructs change as a consequence of successive meetings with the respondent and as a consequence of successive victims.
- At the stage of data analysis the researcher requires to be aware of construction by the victim and remain true to their subjects.

In the light of difficulties concerning the teasing out of constructions of the respondent and self, the researcher may opt for the data to speak for itself. To some extent theoretical reflexivity in relation to the study of victims is assumed. However, the findings point towards the greater recognition of the need for the inclusion of and awareness given to the reflexive component in the study of victims of crime, particularly, if one is of the view that the researcher and victim are involved in the joint construction of meanings

The study is oriented towards the elicitation and elaboration of meanings attached to the victimising event by the individual and recognition of the various influences upon construction by the victim including agencies and academics. Thus the research highlights involvement of the researcher and victim in the joint construction of meanings and for the victimologist to be aware of their role and influence. Acknowledgement of this will contribute to increased understanding of the experience of crime.

On the basis of the above an element of reflexivity is desirable although how much reflexivity is needed remains unclear. It may be argued that the issue of reflexivity is as relevant for the academic study of victims as it is for criminology. The time has come for the development of a victimology which is more theoretically reflexive and aware about it's role in the construction of victims. The current thesis may be seen as taking a step in this direction through awareness of extending the existing boundaries of victimology by drawing upon the discipline of psychology. The thesis contributes to raising awareness about the political nature of the relationship between victim and researcher and the implications of this in relation to selection of an appropriate methodology. The current work also signals the importance of the discipline of victimology taking account of various relationships and emergent constructions, the context of constructions and how these are subject to change. Thus, the thesis may be viewed as urging victimology to think about it's constructions and to develop methods which take account of change. In short, this thesis seeks to promote a more dynamic and reflexive victimology. The current study indicates a degree of reflexive awareness on the part of the researcher. The relevance of reflexivity on the part of the researcher would be highlighted further in the event of employment of more dialogical approaches. In response to concerns about how much reflexivity is desirable, it is clear that some awareness of the need for increased reflexivity as evidenced by this account is preferable to early accounts in which there is little evidence of the relevance of reflexivity for understanding the experience of victimisation.

8.7 Summary and conclusions

This thesis makes a vital and important contribution to current knowledge about victims of crime and the experience of victimisation. This is achieved principally through recognition of the conceptual and methodological limitations stemming from

adherence to the positivist paradigm and recognition of the need to move beyond positivism. This position is highlighted in the thesis through an emphasis upon processes of 'construction' by agencies and in relation to the academic study of victims.

Particular attention was devoted to agency construction and the central concept of 'seriousness'. The problematic nature of seriousness was highlighted further in relation to the concept of seriousness as defined by academics in which concern was with the objective measurement of crime and establishing the impact of crime through the employment of quantitative techniques.

Recently victimology has shown how the seriousness of crime as defined through the criminal victimisation surveys is problematic and this is highlighted by the perspectives of left realism and feminist perspectives. Whereas positivistic victimology may be accused of 'context stripping' these developments have encouraged victimology to take account of the political context of victimisation. The relevance of context has to some extent already been recognised by feminist approaches through the victim-survivor debates. Indeed, this thesis recognises the need to move beyond the powerful fixed categories of 'victim' and 'survivor' through the recognition of processes by which meanings are constructed and negotiated and subject to reconstruction.

The thesis has shown how in many ways how the positivistic nature of victimology, has contributed to simplistic and incomplete constructions since the victim is viewed from the outside, reduced to a static object, to be measured, regarded as an 'other' or 'outsider' and therefore to blame. These constructions are not only simplistic but incomplete insofar as they neglect the constructions of victims

More sophisticated constructions are provided by the literature concerning the psychology of victimisation principally because emphasis is upon the cognitive processes of the victim and the meanings generated as a consequence of the criminal event. However, the methodologies employed are often of a quantitative nature and may convey more about the categories of the researcher than those employed by the victim of crime.

This thesis encouraged one to take account of the constructions of victims through the adoption of qualitative techniques and an innovative technique, computerised

repertory grid technique. This technique was seen to minimise opportunities for the researcher to influence construction by the victim of crime. Thus to some extent the method took account of the political context of the research process. It is worth noting that while the technique was evaluated as successful, that difficulties experienced by respondents related to the positivistic aspects of grid elicitation.

The research sample which sought to examine and compare the personal experiences of rape and housebreaking showed how agency definitions which define the former, a 'violent crime' as more serious than the latter, a 'property crime' are more qualitatively similar from the point of view of the victim since these experiences resulted in the revision of constructs representing self. However, qualitative differences concerning construction of these experiences were also revealed in relation to the construction of the victim's world and self as a consequence of experience of the victimising event. These qualitative differences concerning construction may have been explored further using a technique which encouraged increased elaboration.

The study not only shows how victims categorise and classify their world in terms of 'others' and 'self' but in relation to how the self was reconstructed as a consequence of the criminal event not only in relation to rape but also housebreaking. Thus the method took account of the dynamic nature and construction of meaning.

The methodology was viewed as successful insofar as it helped with the systematic elicitation of personal constructs although the use of conversational techniques would have encouraged greater differences in meanings in relation to the constructed experiences of rape and housebreaking. This modification was viewed as having implications for analysis and highlighted the utility of computerised qualitative data analysis. These modifications would enable dealing with a larger sample size since employment of this type of technology would assist with qualitative data analysis.

While the current study focused upon the examination of meanings constructed by victims of crime using the technique as described above it may be of particular interest to conduct a different study concerning an empirical investigation of the relationship between victims and agencies. It would be of particular interest to determine to what extent the meanings constructed by victims are influenced by agency definitions. For example, it would be of interest to compare the support agencies, Rape Crisis and Victims Support and their influence upon construing of

clients. It would be of interest to determine whether clients find the term 'victim' or 'survivor' more useful. It would be of particular interest to explore the construction of self and the victim's world as a consequence of the experience of crime, in particular, how this changes as a consequence not only of experiences with agencies but as a function of subsequent experiences. Thus the study recognises the importance of context through not only the victim understanding their experience in the context of previous experiences but in relation to the influence of agency relationships upon construing by the victim. However, this area is demanding of further empirical examination. Beyond this, the study recognises the dynamic nature of the construction of meaning through concern with processes of negotiation and reconstruction.

This study signals the need for the development of a victimology which not only takes account of the dynamic nature of the experience of crime but the presence of various relationships including those between victims and agencies, agencies and academics and academics and victims and their influence upon constructions but also how these are negotiated and subject to change or reconstruction. In relation to this, the thesis has suggested that one might explore the constructions of victim in relation to questions of functionality. For whom is the construction of victim functional? Victims, state or society? It may be of particular interest to examine the function of constructions concerning victim blaming not only in relation to victims of crime and agencies but in wider society as evidenced by processes of scapegoating (Douglas 1995). The implications of this concern may involve extension of the academic territory of the existing discipline of victimology to concern itself with the study of victims beyond the criminal sphere. Certainly, this may stimulate critical dialogue. To address these issues will require the development of a victimology of some conceptual and methodological sophistication. This thesis may be viewed as taking an important step in that direction through it's post-positivist stance and through encouraging researchers and the discipline of victimology to be more reflexively aware of their constructions of victims. This thesis has not only sought to encourage critical reflection concerning the powerful and fixed categories we as researchers ascribe to victims, it has also sought to encourage reflection upon the methods we use through encouraging methods which are more responsive to the dynamic experience of the victim of crime. In this way, the researcher may actively resist reducing the victim to an objectified 'other'. Thus, the researcher may be seen to play a constructive role in relation to recognition of the 'personal as political' and awareness of their role in the construction of multiple meanings about victimisation.

On the basis of the above, this thesis may be viewed as contributing to a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the experience of crime with the certainty and promise that no construction is ever final.

APPENDIX

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F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r1 Time: 01-25-1994  13:26:33
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GRID title: rape
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices
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This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable

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POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
more fun	/very serious	1	1	3.65	7	1.97	7.54
secure	/vulnerable	2	1	3.47	7	1.75	5.98
trustworthy	/untrustworthy	3	1	3.06	7	1.59	4.92
more open	/reserved	4	1	3.35	7	1.75	5.94
more sociable	/loner	5	1	3.41	7	1.97	7.57
more compatible	/inexperienced	6	1	2.82	5	1.15	2.57
more lively	/stuffy	7	1	2.88	6	1.81	6.38
bitter	/more self assured	8	1	4.65	7	1.68	5.48
more confident	/unsure	9	2	3.41	6	1.50	4.36
more in common	/outsider	10	1	3.12	7	1.81	6.38
outgoing	/quiet	11	1	3.18	6	1.82	6.47
more understanding	/wary	12	2	3.65	7	1.61	5.02
more concerned	/bashful	13	1	3.06	7	1.73	5.83
more honest	/loyal	14	2	4.12	6	1.18	2.72
aggressive	/gentle	15	1	4.12	6	1.49	4.32
distant	/close	16	1	5.18	7	1.69	5.55
easy going	/self centred	17	2	3.47	7	1.61	5.06
dominated	/dominating	18	2	4.65	7	1.37	3.65
non violent	/violent	19	1	2.94	7	1.47	4.23
		Total mean		3.59		Mean var.	2.70

Transformed matrix

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	0.69	-1.34	-1.34	-0.84	1.70	-0.84	0.69	-0.33	-0.84	1.20	1.70	0.18	0.18	-0.84	-0.84	1.20	-0.33
2	-1.41	-0.84	-0.27	-0.27	1.44	-0.84	0.30	-0.27	-0.27	0.30	0.87	2.01	0.87	-0.84	-1.41	1.44	-0.84
3	-0.04	-1.30	-0.67	-0.67	1.22	-0.67	0.59	-0.67	-0.67	1.85	2.48	-0.04	-0.67	-0.67	-0.67	0.59	-0.04
4	0.94	0.37	-0.77	-0.77	0.37	-1.35	0.37	-0.77	-1.35	1.52	2.09	0.94	-0.77	-0.77	-0.77	0.94	-0.20
5	1.31	-1.22	-0.21	-0.72	1.82	-0.72	-0.72	-0.72	-0.72	1.31	1.31	0.81	-0.21	-1.22	-1.22	0.81	0.30
6	1.02	0.15	0.15	-0.72	1.89	-0.72	0.15	0.15	-0.72	1.02	0.15	-1.59	-0.72	-0.72	-1.59	1.89	0.15
7	1.72	-0.49	-0.49	-1.04	1.17	-1.04	0.06	-0.49	-1.04	1.72	0.62	0.06	0.06	-1.04	-1.04	1.72	-0.49
8	-0.98	1.40	-0.39	0.81	1.40	0.81	1.40	-0.39	-0.39	0.21	-2.17	-0.98	-0.98	0.21	0.81	-0.98	0.21
9	1.73	-0.94	-0.27	-0.94	0.39	-0.94	0.39	-0.27	-0.27	-0.94	1.73	0.39	1.06	-0.94	-0.94	1.73	-0.94
10	1.04	-0.06	-0.62	-0.62	1.04	-0.62	0.49	-0.62	-0.62	1.59	2.14	-1.17	-0.62	-1.17	-1.17	1.04	-0.06
11	1.55	-1.19	-0.65	-1.19	-0.10	-0.65	-0.10	-0.65	-0.65	1.00	1.55	1.55	-0.10	-0.65	-1.19	1.55	-0.10
12	-0.40	0.22	0.22	-1.03	1.46	-1.03	-0.40	-0.40	-1.03	0.22	0.84	1.46	2.09	-1.03	-1.03	0.84	-1.03
13	-1.19	-0.03	1.70	-0.61	1.12	-0.61	1.12	-0.03	-1.19	-0.03	2.28	-1.19	-0.61	-0.03	-0.61	0.54	-0.61
14	1.59	-0.95	1.59	-0.10	-0.95	0.75	-0.10	-1.79	-0.95	0.75	-0.95	1.59	-0.10	-0.95	-0.10	-0.10	0.75
15	1.26	-0.75	-0.75	1.26	-1.42	0.59	-1.42	-0.08	0.59	-0.08	-2.09	-0.08	-0.08	1.26	0.59	1.26	-0.08
16	-0.10	0.49	0.49	1.08	-1.29	1.08	-0.10	0.49	1.08	-1.88	-2.47	0.49	-0.10	0.49	0.49	0.49	-0.70
17	-0.29	-0.91	-0.29	-0.91	0.95	-0.91	0.95	-0.29	-0.91	1.57	2.19	-0.29	-0.29	-0.91	-0.91	1.57	-0.29
18	0.26	-0.47	0.99	-1.20	0.99	-0.47	1.72	-0.47	-0.47	0.99	1.72	-1.20	0.26	-0.47	-0.47	-1.93	0.26
19	0.72	-1.32	0.04	0.04	1.40	0.04	0.72	-0.64	-0.64	-0.64	2.75	-0.64	-0.64	-0.64	0.04	-1.32	0.72

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	1.00	51.1	27.1	39.5	32.8	51.5	32.2	108.8	46.5	34.9	39.5	56.2	67.3	91.9	111.5	139.5	27.6	67.0	61.4
2	0.63	1.00	58.8	62.3	56.2	75.8	62.5	108.9	59.4	72.7	57.0	35.8	71.3	91.5	112.4	109.0	52.5	88.8	86.8
3	0.89	0.52	1.00	37.1	38.7	58.6	45.8	107.5	62.6	31.1	46.6	67.9	56.3	90.2	120.0	151.7	21.6	56.6	52.8
4	0.77	0.46	0.80	1.00	42.0	60.0	37.4	111.0	56.5	36.4	35.7	61.0	67.5	81.3	113.6	137.6	37.2	71.2	69.5
5	0.84	0.56	0.78	0.74	1.00	51.0	31.4	114.7	53.1	41.9	35.5	55.6	75.4	72.1	106.1	135.3	44.3	71.6	63.0
6	0.62	0.25	0.52	0.50	0.63	1.00	38.6	90.1	65.3	39.4	65.9	73.5	63.3	94.1	101.2	118.0	49.7	75.0	80.4
7	0.85	0.46	0.70	0.79	0.85	0.78	1.00	108.9	48.0	35.8	36.1	56.5	75.8	76.9	98.5	127.5	40.2	75.9	80.0
8	-0.32	-0.32	-0.30	-0.36	-0.42	-0.00	-0.32	1.00	131.9	103.8	132.2	111.9	94.2	99.0	91.7	75.5	109.3	88.7	98.7
9	0.69	0.51	0.46	0.55	0.60	0.42	0.67	-0.67	1.00	56.9	41.5	53.3	73.4	85.9	100.4	109.3	54.7	81.0	70.7
10	0.82	0.30	0.86	0.80	0.74	0.77	0.81	-0.24	0.55	1.00	50.6	71.5	58.5	91.9	114.8	142.7	29.9	59.0	59.4
11	0.77	0.54	0.69	0.81	0.81	0.41	0.81	-0.67	0.75	0.64	1.00	59.8	82.7	68.1	95.4	121.7	46.2	83.2	75.8
12	0.56	0.81	0.38	0.48	0.57	0.28	0.55	-0.37	0.60	0.32	0.50	1.00	72.3	87.0	116.7	114.2	60.3	81.0	87.7
13	0.39	0.32	0.55	0.38	0.25	0.45	0.25	-0.07	0.29	0.52	0.13	0.30	1.00	103.5	135.2	121.8	48.4	52.8	59.4
14	-0.03	-0.03	-0.00	0.15	0.31	-0.07	0.23	-0.16	0.07	-0.03	0.37	0.05	-0.23	1.00	78.9	87.2	93.4	88.5	89.8
15	-0.37	-0.38	-0.50	-0.40	-0.28	-0.19	-0.15	-0.03	-0.18	-0.42	-0.09	-0.45	-0.71	0.19	1.00	51.5	120.8	139.3	124.0
16	-0.76	-0.33	-0.88	-0.74	-0.71	-0.47	-0.61	0.25	-0.33	-0.80	-0.53	-0.41	-0.53	0.05	0.62	1.00	141.8	135.3	129.3
17	0.89	0.61	0.93	0.80	0.72	0.65	0.76	-0.33	0.58	0.87	0.69	0.50	0.66	-0.06	-0.51	-0.79	1.00	61.7	64.4
18	0.39	0.02	0.55	0.32	0.32	0.26	0.24	0.02	0.16	0.51	0.12	0.16	0.60	0.03	-0.76	-0.71	0.47	1.00	46.4
19	0.48	0.06	0.60	0.35	0.45	0.17	0.17	-0.15	0.33	0.51	0.24	0.04	0.51	0.00	-0.56	-0.63	0.43	0.69	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.526 Mean absolute value +0.463

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
2	1.19															
3	1.03	0.72														
4	1.12	0.58	0.76													
5	1.10	1.21	1.10	1.33												
6	1.06	0.60	0.64	0.26	1.32											
7	1.01	0.84	0.70	0.95	0.71	0.89										
8	1.05	0.50	0.69	0.51	1.10	0.56	0.77									
9	1.08	0.61	0.76	0.35	1.33	0.38	0.95	0.36								
10	0.85	1.20	1.09	1.27	0.73	1.24	0.81	1.12	1.27							
11	1.30	1.70	1.44	1.77	0.92	1.75	1.09	1.50	1.71	1.02						
12	0.97	1.08	0.95	0.98	1.21	0.98	1.07	0.96	0.95	1.07	1.47					
13	0.94	0.82	0.71	0.83	1.02	0.82	0.84	0.62	0.71	1.05	1.37	0.63				
14	1.14	0.55	0.73	0.31	1.35	0.38	0.93	0.39	0.32	1.26	1.73	1.04	0.80			
15	1.17	0.58	0.75	0.31	1.39	0.29	0.93	0.56	0.42	1.31	1.77	1.06	0.86	0.30		
16	0.86	1.25	1.19	1.25	1.00	1.29	1.09	1.05	1.21	0.88	1.28	0.94	0.95	1.26	1.40	
17	0.79	0.70	0.59	0.59	1.00	0.50	0.66	0.60	0.62	0.86	1.37	0.90	0.76	0.61	0.58	1.12

Table of principal components
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POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
more fun	/very serious	1	0.932	0.090	0.936	1.000	87.700
secure	/vulnerable	2	0.608	0.274	0.667	1.000	44.441
trustworthy	/untrustworthy	3	0.918	-0.161	0.932	1.000	86.830
more open	/reserved	4	0.863	0.122	0.871	1.000	75.920
more sociable	/loner	5	0.875	0.248	0.909	1.000	82.683
more compatible	/inexperienced	6	0.658	-0.009	0.658	1.000	43.314
more lively	/stuffy	7	0.851	0.336	0.915	1.000	83.664
bitter	/more self assured	8	-0.422	-0.485	0.643	1.000	41.302
more confident	/unsure	9	0.700	0.381	0.797	1.000	63.516
more in common	/outsider	10	0.891	-0.129	0.900	1.000	80.959
outgoing	/quiet	11	0.797	0.516	0.950	1.000	90.160
more understanding	/wary	12	0.614	0.267	0.669	1.000	44.787
more concerned	/bashful	13	0.570	-0.568	0.804	1.000	64.709
more honest	/loyal	14	0.066	0.411	0.417	1.000	17.366
aggressive	/gentle	15	-0.535	0.642	0.836	1.000	69.849
distant	/close	16	-0.845	0.330	0.907	1.000	82.337
easy going	/self centred	17	0.935	-0.087	0.939	1.000	88.157
dominated	/dominating	18	0.526	-0.681	0.861	1.000	74.096
non violent	/violent	19	0.540	-0.515	0.746	1.000	55.647
%VARIANCE			52.586	14.648	67.234		

Factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A mother	1	0.648	1.427	1.567	*	0.721	1.205	43.077
B father	2	-0.805	-0.634	1.025	*	0.632	0.784	51.008
C brother	3	-0.282	-0.651	0.709	*	0.322	0.610	17.041
D current boyfriend	4	-1.075	0.049	1.076	*	0.780	0.723	84.083
E previous boyfriend	5	1.377	-1.055	1.734	*	1.077	1.573	73.721
F perfect man	6	-1.036	-0.139	1.045	*	0.753	0.666	85.064
G men	7	0.467	-1.459	1.532	*	0.653	0.620	68.772
H platonic man	8	-0.541	-0.231	0.588	*	0.402	0.387	41.780
I best friend	9	-0.984	0.209	1.006	*	0.718	0.658	78.469
J doctor	10	1.250	0.020	1.251	*	0.907	1.339	61.425
K rapists	11	2.266	-1.215	2.571	*	1.707	3.347	87.089
L rape victims	12	0.148	1.979	1.984	*	0.765	1.121	52.156
M current self	13	-0.008	0.758	0.758	*	0.290	0.536	15.711
N self before	14	-1.055	-0.188	1.072	*	0.769	0.710	83.173
O ideal self	15	-1.171	-0.484	1.267	*	0.869	0.854	88.414
P self after	16	1.003	2.080	2.309	*	1.078	1.587	73.254
Q perfect woman	17	-0.201	-0.464	0.506	*	0.230	0.279	18.967

Variance of transformed data= 1 Variance of derived data= .6723368
Correlation transformed, derived .819962

Residual matrix
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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	-0.05	-0.54	-1.02	0.16	0.52	0.14	0.38	0.20	0.06	0.03	-0.30	-0.14	0.12	0.16	0.30	0.07	-0.10
2	-2.19	-0.18	0.08	0.37	0.90	-0.17	0.42	0.12	0.27	-0.46	-0.17	1.38	0.67	-0.15	-0.57	0.26	-0.59
3	-0.40	-0.66	-0.51	0.33	-0.21	0.26	-0.07	-0.21	0.27	0.71	0.21	0.15	-0.54	0.27	0.33	0.01	0.07
4	0.21	1.14	-0.45	0.15	-0.69	-0.44	0.15	-0.28	-0.52	0.43	0.28	0.57	-0.86	0.16	0.29	-0.18	0.03
5	0.39	-0.36	0.20	0.21	0.88	0.22	-0.76	-0.19	0.09	0.21	-0.37	0.19	-0.39	-0.25	-0.08	-0.59	0.59
6	0.61	0.68	0.33	-0.01	0.98	-0.04	-0.17	0.51	-0.07	0.20	-1.35	-1.66	-0.70	-0.02	-0.82	1.25	0.28
7	0.69	0.41	-0.03	-0.14	0.35	-0.11	0.16	0.05	-0.27	0.65	-0.90	-0.73	-0.18	-0.08	0.12	0.17	-0.16
8	-0.02	0.75	-0.82	0.38	1.47	0.30	0.89	-0.73	-0.70	0.75	-1.81	0.04	-0.62	-0.33	0.08	0.45	-0.10
9	0.73	-0.14	0.17	-0.21	-0.17	-0.16	0.62	0.19	0.33	-1.83	0.61	-0.46	0.78	-0.13	0.06	0.23	-0.63
10	0.65	0.57	-0.45	0.35	-0.32	0.29	-0.12	-0.17	0.29	0.48	-0.03	-1.05	-0.51	-0.25	-0.19	0.41	0.05
11	0.30	-0.22	-0.08	-0.36	-0.65	0.25	0.28	-0.10	0.03	-0.01	0.37	0.41	-0.48	0.29	-0.01	-0.32	0.30
12	-1.18	0.88	0.57	-0.38	0.90	-0.35	-0.30	-0.01	-0.48	-0.55	-0.22	0.85	1.89	-0.33	-0.18	-0.33	-0.78
13	-0.75	0.07	1.49	0.03	-0.26	-0.10	0.03	0.14	-0.51	-0.74	0.30	-0.15	-0.18	0.46	-0.22	1.15	-0.76
14	0.96	-0.63	1.88	-0.05	-0.60	0.87	0.47	-1.66	-0.97	0.66	-0.59	0.77	-0.41	-0.80	0.18	-1.02	0.95
15	0.69	-0.77	-0.48	0.66	-0.01	0.13	-0.23	-0.22	-0.07	0.58	-0.10	-1.27	-0.57	0.82	0.28	0.46	0.11
16	-0.03	0.02	0.46	0.16	0.22	0.25	0.77	0.11	0.18	-0.83	-0.16	-0.04	-0.36	-0.34	-0.34	0.65	-0.71
17	-0.77	-0.21	-0.08	0.10	-0.43	0.04	0.38	0.19	0.03	0.40	-0.04	-0.26	-0.22	0.06	0.14	0.81	-0.14
18	0.89	-0.48	0.69	-0.60	-0.46	-0.02	0.48	-0.35	0.19	0.34	-0.30	0.07	0.78	-0.05	-0.19	-1.04	0.05
19	1.10	-1.21	-0.14	0.65	0.11	0.53	-0.29	-0.47	0.00	-1.30	0.91	0.30	-0.24	-0.17	0.42	-0.79	0.59

Table of VARIMAX rotated components
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POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
more fun	/very serious	1	0.816	-0.459	0.936
secure	/vulnerable	2	0.655	-0.122	0.667
trustworthy	/untrustworthy	3	0.661	-0.656	0.932
more open	/reserved	4	0.778	-0.393	0.871
more sociable	/loner	5	0.860	-0.297	0.909
more compatible	/inexperienced	6	0.535	-0.384	0.658
more lively	/stuffy	7	0.890	-0.211	0.915
bitter	/more self assured	8	-0.623	-0.157	0.643
more confident	/unsure	9	0.792	-0.087	0.797
more in common	/outsider	10	0.657	-0.615	0.900
outgoing	/quiet	11	0.949	-0.032	0.950
more understanding	/wary	12	0.656	-0.132	0.669
more concerned	/bashful	13	0.143	-0.792	0.804
more honest	/loyal	14	0.289	0.300	0.417
aggressive	/gentle	15	-0.072	0.833	0.836
distant	/close	16	-0.505	0.754	0.907
easy going	/self centred	17	0.717	-0.606	0.939
dominated	/dominating	18	0.042	-0.860	0.861
non violent	/violent	19	0.149	-0.731	0.746
%VARIANCE			40.195	27.039	67.234

Transformation matrix
****

	1	2
1	0.821	-0.571
2	0.571	0.821

Rotated factor scores
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	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A mother	1	1.347	0.800	1.567
B father	2	-1.023	-0.060	1.025
C brother	3	-0.603	-0.372	0.709
D current boyfriend	4	-0.854	0.654	1.076
E previous boyfriend	5	0.527	-1.653	1.734
F perfect man	6	-0.929	0.477	1.045
G men	7	-0.450	-1.464	1.532
H platonic man	8	-0.576	0.119	0.588
I best friend	9	-0.688	0.734	1.006
J doctor	10	1.037	-0.699	1.251
K rapists	11	1.165	-2.292	2.571
L rape victims	12	1.252	1.539	1.984
M current self	13	0.427	0.627	0.758
N self before	14	-0.973	0.449	1.072
O ideal self	15	-1.238	0.272	1.267
P self after	16	2.012	1.134	2.309
Q perfect woman	17	-0.430	-0.266	0.506

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r1 Time: 13:27:15
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                NEGATIVE                                POSITIVE
                    1                   2                   3                   4                   5
NEGATIVE POLE                                               .                                       POSITIVE POLE
                                                            .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                                 .                   !                   COMPONENT 1
                                                            .                   !
self centred                                                *                                       easy going
very serious                                                ++++++++++++++++++++                    more fun
untrustworthy       ########################################                                        trustworthy
outsider                                                    .                   !                   more in common
                                                            .                   !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                                 .     !                                 COMPONENT 2
                                                            .     !
dominated                                   ************    .                                       dominating
gentle                                                      +++++++++                               aggressive
more concerned                                              ####################                    bashful
quiet                                                       .     !                                 outgoing
                                                            .     !
.........................................................................................................................

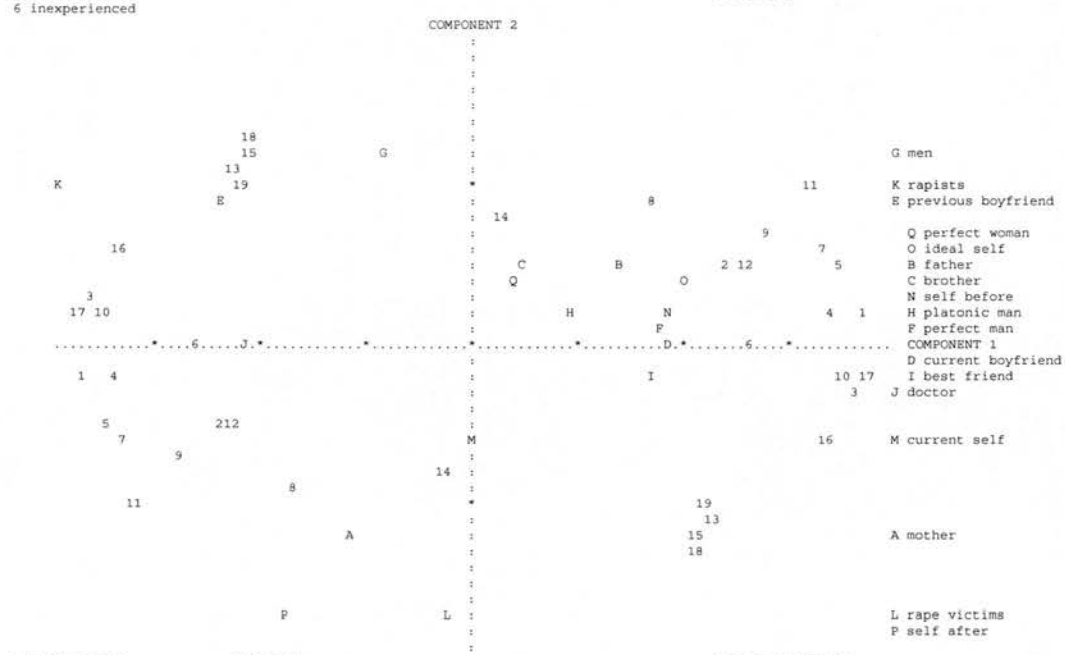
                                                            0      20      40      60      80      100
                                                                 ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r1 Time: 13:27:16
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT **********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

Axis 1 has been reflected
Axis 2 has been reflected
ELEMENT 15  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

```
18 dominating                    8 more self assured        11 outgoing
15 aggressive                   14 more honest               9 more confident
13 bashful                                                   7 more lively
19 violent                                                   2 secure
16 distant                                                  12 more understanding
 3 untrustworthy                                            5 more sociable
10 outsider                                                 4 more open
17 self centred                                             1 more fun
 6 inexperienced
```




```
                                                            G men
                                                            K rapists
                                                            E previous boyfriend
                                                              Q perfect woman
                                                              O ideal self
                                                              B father
                                                              C brother
                                                              N self before
                                                              H platonic man
                                                              F perfect man
                                                              D current boyfriend
                                                              I best friend
                                                            J doctor
                                                            M current self
                                                            A mother
                                                            L rape victims
                                                            P self after
```

```
 1 very serious                  6 more compatible
 4 reserved                     17 easy going
 5 loner                        10 more in common
12 wary                          3 trustworthy
 2 vulnerable                   16 close
 7 stuffy                       19 non violent
 9 unsure                       13 more concerned
11 quiet                        15 gentle
                                18 dominated
```

****

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r1 Time: 13:27:19
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                                POSITIVE
                    1                   2                   3                   4                   5
NEGATIVE POLE                                               .                                       POSITIVE POLE
                                                            .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                                 .                   !                   COMPONENT 1
                                                            .                   !
quiet                                               *******                                         outgoing
stuffy                                                      ++++++++++++++++++++                    more lively
loner                                       ###################                                     more sociable
very serious                                                .                   !                   more fun
                                                            .                   !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                                 .           !                           COMPONENT 2
                                                            .           !
dominating                                                  **********                              dominated
aggressive                                                  +++++                                   gentle
bashful             ########################################                                        more concerned
distant                                                     .           !                           close
                                                            .           !
.........................................................................................................................
                                                            0      20      40      60      80     100
                                                                 ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r1 Time: 13:27:19
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT  ********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

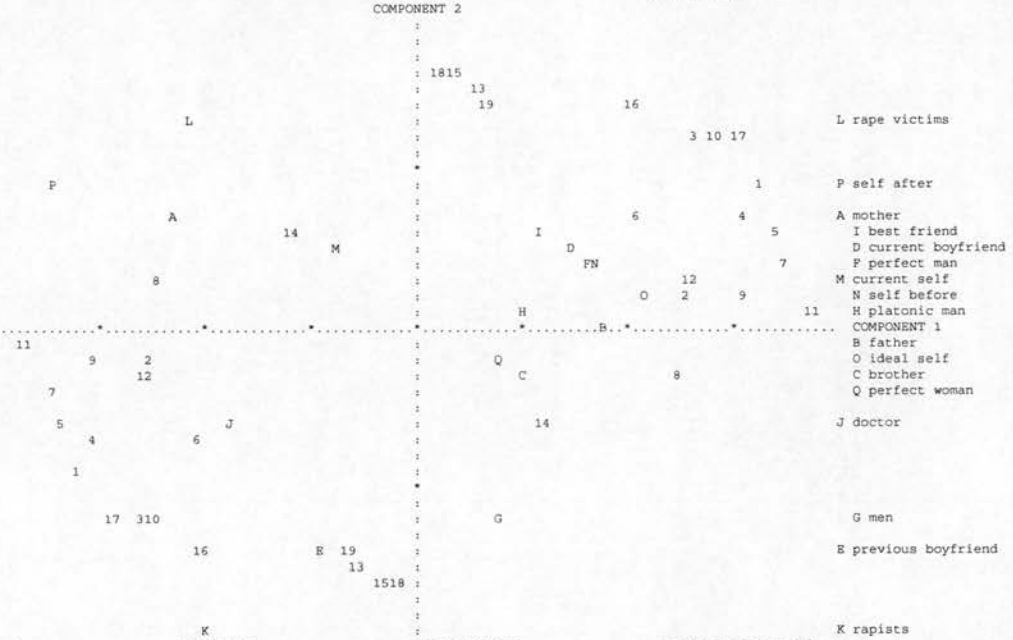
Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 15  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

8 bitter

14 loyal

18 dominated
15 gentle
13 more concerned
16 close
19 non violent

3 trustworthy
10 more in common
17 easy going
1 more fun
4 more open
6 more compatible
5 more sociable
7 more lively
12 more understanding
2 secure
9 more confident
11 outgoing



L rape victims
P self after
A mother
I best friend
D current boyfriend
F perfect man
M current self
N self before
O
H platonic man
B father
Q
C
8
J
Q perfect woman
J doctor
G men
E previous boyfriend
K rapists

K

11 quiet
9 unsure
2 vulnerable
12 wary
7 stuffy
5 loner
6 inexperienced
4 reserved
1 very serious
17 self centred
10 outsider
3 untrustworthy

19 violent
16 distant
13 bashful
15 aggressive
18 dominating

14 more honest

8 more self assured

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: R2 Time: 01-25-1994  13:41:32
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: rape
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices
```

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
tolerant	/intolerant	1	1	3.00	7	2.09	4.68
more relaxed	/highly strung	2	1	3.09	7	1.81	3.50
male thinking	/male orientated	3	1	3.32	7	1.84	3.65
pleasant	/unpleasant	4	1	2.55	7	1.67	3.00
male chauvenist	/not male chauvinist	5	1	4.91	7	2.37	6.04
more confident	/less confident	6	1	2.27	6	1.68	3.04
communicative	/uncommunicative	7	1	3.00	7	2.20	5.17
irresponsible	/responsible	8	1	4.86	7	2.18	5.10
controlled	/spontaneous	9	1	3.36	7	1.80	3.47
defensive	/easy going	10	1	3.55	7	2.04	4.46
not dependent on men	/independent of men	11	1	4.55	7	2.19	5.15
settled	/very unsettled	12	1	3.18	7	2.33	5.82
insecure	/secure	13	1	5.45	7	1.99	4.27
self assured	/not self assured	14	1	2.32	6	1.55	2.58
mistrusting	/trustful	15	1	4.91	7	1.65	2.92
self centred	/unselfish	16	1	4.59	7	2.27	5.53
impulsive	/reserved	17	1	4.05	7	1.77	3.36
domineering	/dominated	18	1	3.05	6	1.52	2.49
worthy	/unworthy	19	1	2.82	7	2.15	4.94
sensitive	/insensitive	20	1	3.05	7	2.08	4.63
careful	/careless	21	1	3.09	7	2.09	4.68
fun	/funless	22	1	3.68	7	1.55	2.58
quiet	/loud	23	1	4.00	7	1.60	2.73
caring	/non caring	24	1	2.82	7	1.85	3.67
being controlled	/controller	25	1	5.09	7	1.53	2.53
		Total mean		3.62		Mean var.	3.73

Transformed matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	-0.48	1.44	-0.96	-0.00	-0.00	-0.96	-0.48	-0.96	-0.00	-0.48	1.44	-0.48	-0.48	-0.48	1.91	1.91	-0.00	-0.00	-0.96	-0.96
2	-0.05	-0.60	-1.16	-0.05	-0.05	-0.60	-0.05	-0.60	-1.16	-0.05	1.61	-0.60	-0.60	-0.60	2.16	2.16	0.50	0.50	-0.60	-1.16
3	1.45	-0.72	-0.72	2.00	0.37	-0.72	-1.26	-0.17	-1.26	2.00	-1.26	0.37	0.37	0.37	-1.26	-1.26	0.37	0.37	0.91	0.37
4	-0.92	-0.33	-0.92	0.27	0.27	-0.92	-0.33	-0.92	-0.33	0.27	1.47	-0.33	-0.33	-0.33	2.67	2.67	-0.33	0.27	-0.33	-0.92
5	0.88	-0.80	-0.38	0.88	0.88	-0.80	-1.65	-0.80	0.46	0.88	-1.65	0.88	0.88	0.88	-1.65	-1.65	0.88	0.88	0.88	0.88
6	1.62	-0.16	0.43	-0.76	0.43	-0.76	-0.16	-0.76	-0.16	-0.76	-0.76	-0.76	-0.76	-0.16	-0.76	-0.76	2.21	1.62	0.43	-0.76
7	0.00	-0.91	0.00	-0.46	-0.46	-0.91	1.82	-0.91	0.00	-0.46	1.37	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	1.82	1.82	0.91	-0.46	0.00	-0.91
8	0.98	0.98	0.06	0.52	0.52	0.52	-1.77	0.98	-1.31	0.06	-0.85	0.98	0.98	0.98	-1.77	-1.77	-0.40	0.06	0.98	0.98
9	-0.20	-0.76	0.91	-0.76	-1.31	-0.20	0.35	0.35	-0.20	1.47	1.47	-0.76	-0.76	-1.31	2.02	2.02	-0.76	-0.76	0.35	0.35
10	0.71	-1.25	-0.27	0.22	0.22	1.20	1.69	0.22	1.20	1.69	-0.27	0.22	0.22	0.22	-1.25	-1.25	-1.25	-1.25	1.20	0.22
11	-0.71	1.12	-0.25	-1.62	-1.16	-0.25	1.12	0.21	0.66	1.12	1.12	-0.25	-0.25	0.66	1.12	1.12	0.66	-0.25	-1.62	-1.62
12	-0.51	-0.94	0.35	-0.51	-0.94	-0.94	1.64	-0.94	0.35	1.21	-0.51	-0.94	-0.08	-0.51	1.64	1.64	1.64	-0.08	-0.94	-0.94
13	0.78	0.78	-1.73	0.27	0.78	0.78	-1.23	0.78	0.27	-1.23	0.78	0.27	0.27	0.78	0.78	0.27	-2.23	-1.23	0.27	0.78
14	-0.21	-0.85	0.44	0.44	2.38	-0.21	0.44	-0.85	-0.21	-0.85	-0.85	-0.21	-0.21	-0.21	-0.85	-0.85	1.73	1.73	-0.85	-0.85
15	0.66	0.66	0.06	0.06	0.06	1.27	0.66	1.27	0.66	-0.55	0.66	0.06	0.66	0.66	-0.55	-0.55	-2.37	-2.37	0.06	0.66
16	0.62	0.62	0.18	0.62	0.62	1.06	-1.58	1.06	-0.70	-1.14	-1.58	0.62	0.62	0.62	-1.58	-1.58	0.18	0.18	1.06	1.06
17	1.10	1.67	-0.59	-1.72	0.54	1.10	-1.16	-0.03	-0.59	-0.03	-1.72	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-1.16	-1.72	0.54	0.54	-0.03	1.10
18	-1.34	1.28	0.63	-1.34	1.28	0.63	-0.03	-0.03	-0.69	-1.34	-1.34	0.63	-0.03	0.63	-1.34	-1.34	1.94	1.28	0.63	-0.03
19	-0.85	-0.85	-0.38	-0.38	-0.38	-0.38	1.48	-0.85	0.08	-0.38	1.95	-0.38	-0.85	-0.85	1.95	1.95	-0.38	0.08	-0.38	-0.85
20	-0.98	-0.50	-0.50	-0.02	-0.50	-0.50	1.90	-0.98	0.46	0.46	1.42	-0.50	-0.98	-0.98	1.90	1.90	0.94	0.46	-0.50	-0.98
21	-0.52	-1.00	-0.04	-0.52	-0.52	-0.52	1.87	-1.00	0.91	0.44	1.39	-0.52	-0.52	-1.00	1.87	1.87	-0.04	-0.04	0.91	-1.00
22	0.21	0.21	-1.09	0.21	0.21	-1.73	-1.09	-0.44	-1.09	-1.73	2.14	0.21	0.21	0.21	1.50	1.50	0.85	0.21	0.21	-1.09
23	-1.25	0.00	0.63	0.00	-1.25	0.00	0.63	0.00	0.63	1.88	1.88	-0.63	0.00	0.00	1.25	1.25	-1.88	-1.25	0.00	0.00
24	-0.98	-0.98	0.10	-0.44	-0.44	-0.98	1.18	-0.44	0.64	0.64	1.18	-0.44	-0.98	-0.98	2.26	2.26	0.10	0.10	0.64	-0.44
25	-0.06	0.59	0.59	-0.71	-0.71	0.59	-0.06	-0.71	0.59	-0.06	1.24	-0.71	-0.06	-0.06	1.24	1.24	-2.67	-2.01	0.59	-0.71

	U	V
1	1.91	-0.96
2	1.61	-0.60
3	0.37	-0.72
4	-0.33	-0.33
5	-0.38	-0.38
6	2.21	-0.76
7	1.37	-0.91
8	-0.85	-0.85
9	-0.76	-0.76
10	-1.25	-1.25
11	0.66	-1.62
12	1.21	-0.94
13	-1.73	0.78
14	1.73	-0.85
15	-1.76	0.06
16	-1.58	0.62
17	1.10	1.10
18	-0.03	-0.03
19	1.48	-0.85
20	-0.98	-0.50
21	-1.00	-1.00
22	0.85	-0.44
23	-1.25	-0.63
24	-0.98	-0.98
25	0.59	1.24

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	1.00	33.8	110.0	42.1	120.9	83.3	49.1	122.6	71.7	125.9	54.1	62.1	91.3	86.8	110.9	133.7	105.7	106.6	42.2	59.8
2	0.83	1.00	102.3	34.3	120.5	80.1	37.7	128.3	62.2	120.5	61.2	53.8	97.9	83.1	120.0	137.2	113.5	112.4	33.2	50.2
3	-0.34	-0.21	1.00	108.8	38.2	75.5	114.6	52.4	109.7	74.4	116.6	101.8	97.9	78.3	101.5	67.1	76.6	91.2	120.9	117.8
4	0.74	0.83	-0.32	1.00	118.7	104.3	50.8	128.0	53.2	113.2	65.4	61.5	82.5	98.9	106.2	131.3	128.5	118.3	41.4	41.2
5	-0.51	-0.51	0.79	-0.48	1.00	72.4	127.0	50.3	126.1	75.8	122.8	109.5	95.6	71.5	100.8	54.9	68.3	72.3	134.4	124.2
6	0.12	0.17	0.25	-0.25	0.30	1.00	76.5	90.1	111.3	106.4	89.5	75.3	127.3	44.3	131.5	91.7	66.9	65.1	89.9	96.9
7	0.65	0.79	-0.42	0.63	-0.60	0.23	1.00	144.8	55.6	102.9	57.4	38.5	110.7	83.1	111.4	148.1	122.6	110.7	24.9	39.0
8	-0.54	-0.62	0.61	-0.62	0.64	-0.00	-0.82	1.00	119.8	76.0	120.5	138.3	73.4	92.3	71.8	31.6	60.3	68.2	145.2	144.2
9	0.31	0.47	-0.34	0.60	-0.59	-0.36	0.56	-0.50	1.00	87.4	66.4	62.5	90.5	122.1	86.7	126.0	124.2	128.4	53.5	52.0
10	-0.59	-0.51	0.27	-0.39	0.25	-0.28	-0.22	0.24	0.05	1.00	97.3	99.5	83.9	101.5	56.3	82.1	96.9	101.4	103.7	97.1
11	0.59	0.48	-0.45	0.42	-0.54	0.01	0.54	-0.51	0.40	-0.13	1.00	50.2	106.0	95.2	97.9	135.6	106.7	99.1	55.7	55.7
12	0.47	0.59	-0.20	0.48	-0.33	0.25	0.78	-0.75	0.46	-0.16	0.64	1.00	130.1	78.6	122.7	142.6	113.5	104.2	49.9	46.1
13	-0.02	-0.14	-0.14	0.13	-0.10	-0.61	-0.35	0.29	-0.01	0.11	-0.28	-0.64	1.00	124.2	45.3	69.4	88.9	106.0	100.5	103.0
14	0.06	0.12	0.20	-0.15	0.32	0.72	0.12	-0.04	-0.53	-0.20	-0.09	0.20	-0.56	1.00	126.4	90.8	79.8	59.0	88.2	92.7
15	-0.36	-0.50	-0.20	-0.28	-0.19	-0.66	-0.36	0.31	0.06	0.56	-0.14	-0.54	0.70	-0.59	1.00	71.5	93.5	104.6	105.9	106.9
16	-0.69	-0.73	0.39	-0.66	0.58	-0.03	-0.85	0.85	-0.59	0.14	-0.71	-0.79	0.35	-0.01	0.32	1.00	57.6	59.6	153.2	139.3
17	-0.27	-0.40	0.23	-0.62	0.37	0.39	-0.54	0.50	-0.56	-0.12	-0.29	-0.40	0.02	0.18	-0.06	0.54	1.00	56.2	126.6	131.9
18	-0.29	-0.38	-0.02	-0.47	0.30	0.42	-0.35	0.37	-0.62	-0.20	-0.16	-0.25	-0.28	0.51	-0.25	0.51	0.56	1.00	115.4	109.3
19	0.74	0.84	-0.51	0.75	-0.70	0.00	0.91	-0.82	0.59	-0.24	0.56	0.64	-0.18	0.03	-0.27	-0.89	-0.60	-0.43	1.00	39.0
20	0.50	0.64	-0.47	0.75	-0.56	-0.12	0.78	-0.81	0.62	-0.12	0.56	0.69	-0.22	-0.05	-0.29	-0.76	-0.67	-0.33	0.78	1.00
21	0.39	0.53	-0.44	0.69	-0.51	-0.16	0.77	-0.73	0.73	0.13	0.47	0.61	-0.13	-0.19	-0.10	-0.72	-0.73	-0.43	0.77	0.89
22	0.73	0.76	-0.16	0.66	-0.26	0.19	0.52	-0.26	0.14	-0.64	0.24	0.18	0.12	0.08	-0.35	-0.35	-0.33	-0.15	0.53	0.34
23	0.22	0.19	-0.34	0.49	-0.52	-0.69	0.29	-0.37	0.79	0.28	0.44	0.24	0.19	-0.66	0.38	-0.51	-0.64	-0.64	0.44	0.49
24	0.45	0.59	-0.42	0.78	-0.51	-0.20	0.75	-0.72	0.81	-0.03	0.46	0.63	-0.13	-0.22	-0.20	-0.71	-0.73	-0.43	0.76	0.89
25	0.34	0.21	-0.49	0.35	-0.61	-0.45	0.27	-0.38	0.48	0.01	0.19	0.02	0.40	-0.59	0.43	-0.38	-0.24	-0.53	0.41	0.14

	21	22	23	24	25
1	67.3	43.1	77.4	63.4	70.1
2	58.1	40.8	79.1	53.9	77.9
3	116.4	98.9	109.9	115.0	119.5
4	46.4	48.4	60.4	38.6	69.3
5	120.8	104.8	121.1	120.8	127.6
6	99.3	79.0	133.9	101.7	116.7
7	39.3	58.6	73.4	41.4	74.3
8	136.6	104.8	111.5	135.7	112.1
9	43.1	82.0	37.6	35.6	61.2
10	82.7	129.5	73.8	91.9	89.2
11	62.2	76.2	63.7	62.5	79.2
12	52.1	79.6	75.8	50.9	88.8
13	97.5	83.1	79.3	97.2	66.3
14	101.1	85.4	131.5	102.6	125.9
15	95.9	110.5	67.7	101.5	64.3
16	136.2	110.3	121.0	135.3	112.4
17	136.6	109.0	130.1	137.1	103.6
18	115.5	98.5	129.5	115.7	121.8
19	40.1	58.0	64.0	40.6	66.1
20	27.1	69.9	60.4	27.2	81.9
21	1.00	74.0	52.1	18.9	70.2
22	0.28	1.00	92.1	70.8	83.8
23	0.61	-0.04	1.00	50.8	52.2
24	0.95	0.33	0.63	1.00	73.9
25	0.34	0.11	0.61	0.28	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.484 Mean absolute value +0.424

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	0.80																			
3	0.81	0.81																		
4	0.65	0.95	0.80																	
5	0.65	0.77	0.80	0.66																
6	0.71	0.63	0.65	0.84	0.73															
7	1.26	1.26	0.85	1.17	1.22	1.09														
8	0.63	0.60	0.64	0.70	0.75	0.40	1.14													
9	0.87	0.88	0.59	0.82	0.88	0.70	0.64	0.75												
10	0.96	1.12	0.79	0.86	1.13	0.96	0.92	0.92	0.72											
11	1.34	1.21	1.15	1.18	1.35	1.29	0.90	1.21	0.94	1.14										
12	0.56	0.61	0.65	0.51	0.48	0.54	1.14	0.42	0.72	0.89	1.22									
13	0.52	0.60	0.62	0.50	0.56	0.52	1.14	0.40	0.69	0.84	1.22	0.24								
14	0.56	0.53	0.69	0.61	0.55	0.54	1.19	0.43	0.73	0.93	1.26	0.28	0.22							
15	1.54	1.42	1.32	1.38	1.53	1.52	0.98	1.46	1.11	1.25	0.50	1.44	1.44	1.49						
16	1.56	1.44	1.31	1.38	1.54	1.54	0.97	1.48	1.12	1.24	0.50	1.45	1.45	1.50	0.10					
17	1.09	1.16	0.98	1.12	0.90	1.28	1.20	1.22	1.17	1.24	1.51	0.99	1.08	1.07	1.51	1.51				
18	0.89	0.96	0.83	0.87	0.62	1.05	1.18	1.00	1.01	1.10	1.37	0.73	0.85	0.85	1.43	1.43	0.43			
19	0.58	0.85	0.65	0.63	0.68	0.65	1.10	0.63	0.73	0.86	1.19	0.49	0.53	0.61	1.40	1.41	1.13	0.90		
20	0.57	0.73	0.71	0.67	0.70	0.48	1.28	0.41	0.83	0.93	1.40	0.43	0.43	0.52	1.60	1.62	1.23	0.97	0.54	
21	1.03	1.06	1.01	1.14	0.98	1.25	1.17	1.24	1.11	1.23	1.25	1.08	1.09	1.09	1.29	1.29	0.82	0.79	1.20	1.29
22	0.73	0.63	0.72	0.78	0.74	0.55	1.23	0.60	0.80	1.09	1.27	0.58	0.56	0.62	1.44	1.46	1.22	0.96	0.72	0.55

	21
22	1.13

Table of principal components

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
tolerant	/intolerant	1	0.721	0.279	0.773	1.000	59.724
more relaxed	/highly strung	2	0.801	0.352	0.876	1.000	76.653
male thinking	/male orientated	3	-0.534	0.200	0.570	1.000	32.480
pleasant	/unpleasant	4	0.842	-0.002	0.842	1.000	70.946
male chauvenist	/not male chauvinist	5	-0.720	0.251	0.763	1.000	58.207
more confident	/less confident	6	-0.139	0.864	0.875	1.000	76.509
communicative	/uncommunicative	7	0.884	0.288	0.929	1.000	86.355
irresponsible	/responsible	8	-0.853	-0.145	0.865	1.000	74.852
controlled	/spontaneous	9	0.749	-0.379	0.840	1.000	70.508
defensive	/easy going	10	-0.235	-0.507	0.559	1.000	31.252
not dependent on men	/independent of men	11	0.654	0.100	0.661	1.000	43.735
settled	/very unsettled	12	0.721	0.408	0.828	1.000	68.597
insecure	/secure	13	-0.145	-0.690	0.705	1.000	49.753
self assured	/not self assured	14	-0.165	0.833	0.849	1.000	72.075
mistrusting	/trustful	15	-0.226	-0.874	0.903	1.000	81.561
self centred	/unselfish	16	-0.904	-0.148	0.916	1.000	83.870
impulsive	/reserved	17	-0.684	0.252	0.729	1.000	53.175
domineering	/dominated	18	-0.526	0.481	0.713	1.000	50.860
worthy	/unworthy	19	0.932	0.131	0.941	1.000	88.557
sensitive	/insensitive	20	0.879	0.075	0.882	1.000	77.850
careful	/careless	21	0.858	-0.124	0.867	1.000	75.093
fun	/funless	22	0.496	0.324	0.593	1.000	35.113
quiet	/loud	23	0.611	-0.674	0.909	1.000	82.696
caring	/non caring	24	0.881	-0.093	0.886	1.000	78.518
being controlled	/controller	25	0.453	-0.582	0.738	1.000	54.419
%VARIANCE			45.622	19.712	65.334		

Factor scores

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A mother	1	-0.814	0.046	0.815	*	0.550	0.716	42.236
B father	2	-0.498	-0.231	0.549	*	0.352	0.788	15.717
C brother	3	-0.138	-0.042	0.144	*	0.095	0.454	1.995
D Lynsey	4	-0.398	-0.195	0.443	*	0.282	0.639	12.447
E laura	5	-0.769	0.757	1.079	*	0.619	0.689	55.522
F David	6	-0.747	-1.011	1.257	*	0.675	0.695	65.642
G Son's father	7	1.213	-0.114	1.218	*	0.821	1.454	46.342
H perfect man	8	-0.682	-0.945	1.165	*	0.623	0.557	69.706
I men	9	0.326	-0.685	0.759	*	0.376	0.492	28.685
J Sandy	10	0.311	-0.592	0.669	*	0.336	1.070	10.577
K platonic man	11	1.776	-0.860	1.973	*	1.259	1.835	86.395
L Janet	12	-0.707	-0.127	0.718	*	0.481	0.330	70.041
M Eileen	13	-0.692	-0.399	0.799	*	0.500	0.343	72.744
N Doctor	14	-0.783	-0.264	0.826	*	0.542	0.459	63.940
O Lafferty	15	2.315	-0.242	2.328	*	1.568	2.602	94.447
P rapists	16	2.356	-0.201	2.364	*	1.594	2.646	95.985
Q rape victims	17	-0.081	2.754	2.755	*	1.224	1.701	88.054
R current self	18	-0.280	1.991	2.011	*	0.904	0.971	84.136
S self before rape	19	-0.481	-0.503	0.696	*	0.394	0.543	28.588
T ideal self	20	-1.041	-0.791	1.308	*	0.786	0.750	82.396
U s after r	21	0.430	2.188	2.229	*	1.014	1.552	66.202
V perfect woman	22	-0.618	-0.534	0.817	*	0.480	0.713	32.340

Variance of transformed data= .9999993 Variance of derived data= .6533429
Correlation transformed, derived .8082971

Residual matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	0.09	1.86	-0.85	0.34	0.34	-0.14	-1.32	-0.20	-0.04	-0.54	0.40	0.07	0.13	0.16	0.31	0.27	-0.71	-0.35	-0.47	0.01
2	0.59	-0.12	-1.03	0.34	0.30	0.35	-0.98	0.28	-1.18	-0.09	0.49	0.01	0.09	0.12	0.39	0.35	-0.40	0.03	-0.04	-0.04
3	1.01	-0.93	-0.78	1.82	-0.19	-0.91	-0.59	-0.35	-0.95	2.28	-0.14	0.02	0.08	0.00	0.03	0.04	-0.22	-0.18	0.76	-0.03
4	-0.24	0.09	-0.81	0.61	0.92	-0.30	-1.35	-0.35	-0.60	0.01	-0.03	0.27	0.26	0.33	0.71	0.68	-0.25	0.51	0.08	-0.05
5	0.28	-1.11	-0.47	0.64	0.14	-1.09	-0.75	-1.06	0.87	1.25	-0.15	0.40	0.48	0.38	0.08	0.10	0.13	0.18	0.66	0.33
6	1.47	-0.03	0.45	-0.64	-0.33	0.01	0.11	-0.03	0.48	-0.20	0.23	-0.74	-0.51	-0.04	-0.23	-0.26	-0.18	-0.14	0.80	-0.22
7	0.71	-0.40	0.13	-0.05	0.01	0.04	0.78	-0.04	-0.09	-0.56	0.04	-0.25	-0.18	-0.14	-0.15	-0.20	0.19	-0.78	0.57	0.24
8	0.29	0.52	-0.06	0.15	-0.03	-0.26	-0.75	0.26	-1.13	0.24	0.54	0.36	0.33	0.27	0.17	0.21	-0.07	0.11	0.50	-0.02
9	0.42	-0.47	1.00	-0.53	-0.45	-0.03	-0.60	0.51	-0.71	1.01	-0.19	-0.28	-0.39	-0.83	0.20	0.18	0.35	0.21	0.52	0.83
10	0.55	-1.48	-0.32	0.03	0.43	0.52	1.92	-0.42	0.93	1.47	-0.29	-0.01	-0.14	-0.09	-0.83	-0.80	0.13	-0.30	0.84	-0.42
11	-0.18	1.47	-0.15	-1.34	-0.74	0.34	0.34	0.75	0.52	0.98	0.05	0.23	0.24	1.20	-0.37	-0.40	0.44	-0.27	-1.25	-0.86
12	0.06	-0.48	0.47	-0.14	-0.69	0.01	0.81	-0.06	0.40	1.23	-1.44	-0.38	0.58	0.16	0.07	0.02	0.57	-0.69	-0.39	0.14
13	0.69	0.54	-1.78	0.08	1.19	-0.03	-1.13	0.02	-0.15	-1.59	0.44	0.08	-0.10	0.48	0.94	0.48	-0.34	0.10	-0.14	0.08
14	-0.38	-0.74	0.45	0.54	1.62	0.51	0.74	-0.18	0.42	-0.31	0.16	-0.22	0.01	-0.12	-0.27	-0.29	-0.58	0.03	-0.51	-0.36
15	0.52	0.35	-0.01	-0.21	0.54	0.22	0.84	0.29	0.14	-1.00	0.31	-0.22	0.16	0.25	-0.24	-0.19	0.02	-0.69	-0.49	-0.27
16	-0.11	0.14	0.05	0.23	0.04	0.24	-0.50	0.31	-0.51	-0.95	-0.10	-0.04	-0.06	-0.13	0.47	0.52	0.51	0.22	0.55	0.00
17	0.54	1.39	-0.67	-1.94	-0.18	0.85	-0.30	-0.25	-0.19	0.34	-0.29	-0.48	-0.40	-0.50	0.49	-0.06	-0.21	-0.15	-0.23	0.59
18	-1.79	1.13	0.57	-1.46	0.52	0.72	0.66	0.07	-0.19	-0.90	0.00	0.32	-0.20	0.34	-0.01	-0.01	0.57	0.18	0.62	-0.20
19	-0.10	-0.35	-0.25	0.01	0.24	0.45	0.37	-0.09	-0.13	-0.59	0.41	0.29	-0.15	-0.08	-0.18	-0.22	-0.67	0.08	0.13	0.23
20	-0.27	-0.05	-0.38	0.34	0.12	0.23	0.85	-0.31	0.22	0.23	-0.07	0.13	-0.35	-0.28	-0.11	-0.15	0.80	0.56	-0.04	-0.01
21	0.18	-0.60	0.07	-0.21	0.23	-0.01	0.82	-0.53	0.55	0.10	-0.24	0.07	0.02	-0.36	-0.14	-0.17	0.37	0.44	1.26	-0.21
22	0.59	0.53	-1.00	0.47	0.34	-1.03	-1.65	0.20	-1.03	-1.69	1.54	0.60	0.68	0.68	0.43	0.39	-0.00	-0.30	0.61	-0.31
23	-0.73	0.15	0.68	0.11	-0.27	-0.22	-0.19	-0.22	-0.03	1.29	0.22	-0.28	0.15	0.30	-0.32	-0.32	0.02	0.26	-0.05	0.10
24	-0.26	-0.57	0.22	-0.11	0.31	-0.42	0.10	0.07	0.29	0.31	-0.47	0.17	-0.41	-0.32	0.20	0.17	0.43	0.53	1.02	0.40
25	0.34	0.68	0.63	-0.64	0.08	0.34	-0.68	-0.95	0.05	-0.54	-0.06	-0.46	0.02	0.14	0.05	0.06	-1.03	-0.73	0.52	-0.70

	U	V
1	0.99	-0.36
2	0.49	0.08
3	0.16	-0.94
4	-0.68	0.19
5	-0.62	-0.69
6	0.38	-0.38
7	0.36	-0.21
8	-0.17	-1.46
9	-0.25	-0.50
10	-0.04	-1.66
11	0.16	-1.16
12	0.01	-0.27
13	-0.16	0.32
14	-0.02	-0.51
15	0.25	-0.55
16	-0.87	-0.02
17	0.85	0.82
18	-0.86	-0.10
19	0.79	-0.20
20	-1.53	0.08
21	-1.10	-0.54
22	-0.07	0.04
23	-0.04	-0.61
24	-1.16	-0.49
25	1.67	1.21

Table of VARIMAX rotated components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
tolerant	/intolerant	1	0.752	0.177	0.773
more relaxed	/highly strung	2	0.842	0.239	0.876
male thinking	/male orientated	3	-0.501	0.272	0.570
pleasant	/unpleasant	4	0.834	-0.118	0.842
male chauvenist	/not male chauvinist	5	-0.679	0.348	0.763
more confident	/less confident	6	-0.019	0.874	0.875
communicative	/uncommunicative	7	0.915	0.164	0.929
irresponsible	/responsible	8	-0.865	-0.026	0.865
controlled	/spontaneous	9	0.690	-0.479	0.840
defensive	/easy going	10	-0.303	-0.470	0.559
not dependent on men	/independent of men	11	0.661	0.009	0.661
settled	/very unsettled	12	0.770	0.305	0.828
insecure	/secure	13	-0.238	-0.664	0.705
self assured	/not self assured	14	-0.049	0.848	0.849
mistrusting	/trustful	15	-0.344	-0.835	0.903
self centred	/unselfish	16	-0.916	-0.022	0.916
impulsive	/reserved	17	-0.643	0.344	0.729
domineering	/dominated	18	-0.455	0.549	0.713
worthy	/unworthy	19	0.941	0.002	0.941
sensitive	/insensitive	20	0.881	-0.046	0.882
careful	/careless	21	0.832	-0.241	0.867
fun	/funless	22	0.536	0.252	0.593
quiet	/loud	23	0.512	-0.751	0.909
caring	/non caring	24	0.860	-0.213	0.886
being controlled	/controller	25	0.369	-0.639	0.738
%VARIANCE			45.131	20.203	65.334

Transformation matrix
****

	1	2
1	0.990	-0.138
2	0.138	0.990

Rotated factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A mother	1	-0.800	0.158	0.815
B father	2	-0.525	-0.160	0.549
C brother	3	-0.143	-0.023	0.144
D Lynsey	4	-0.421	-0.138	0.443
E laura	5	-0.657	0.856	1.079
F David	6	-0.879	-0.899	1.257
G Son's father	7	1.186	-0.280	1.218
H perfect man	8	-0.805	-0.843	1.165
I men	9	0.229	-0.724	0.759
J Sandy	10	0.226	-0.629	0.669
K platonic man	11	1.641	-1.096	1.973
L Janet	12	-0.718	-0.028	0.718
M Eileen	13	-0.740	-0.300	0.799
N Doctor	14	-0.812	-0.153	0.826
O Lafferty	15	2.260	-0.558	2.328
P rapists	16	2.306	-0.523	2.364
Q rape victims	17	0.299	2.739	2.755
R current self	18	-0.004	2.011	2.011
S self before rape	19	-0.545	-0.432	0.696
T ideal self	20	-1.140	-0.641	1.308
U s after r	21	0.727	2.108	2.229
V perfect woman	22	-0.686	-0.444	0.817

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r2 Time: 13:42:29
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                              POSITIVE
                        1               2               3               4               5
NEGATIVE POLE                                           .                               POSITIVE POLE
                                                        .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                             .               !               COMPONENT 1
                                                        .               !
unworthy                                                ****                            worthy
self centred                                            ++++++++++++++                  unselfish
uncommunicative         ##################################                              communicative
non caring                                              .               !               caring
                                                        .               !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                             .       !                       COMPONENT 2
                                                        .       !
mistrusting                 ****************************                                trustful
less confident                                          ++++++++++                      more confident
not self assured                                        ###                             self assured
insecure                                                .       !                       secure
                                                        .       !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                        0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                                ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r2 Time: 13:42:29
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT  ********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

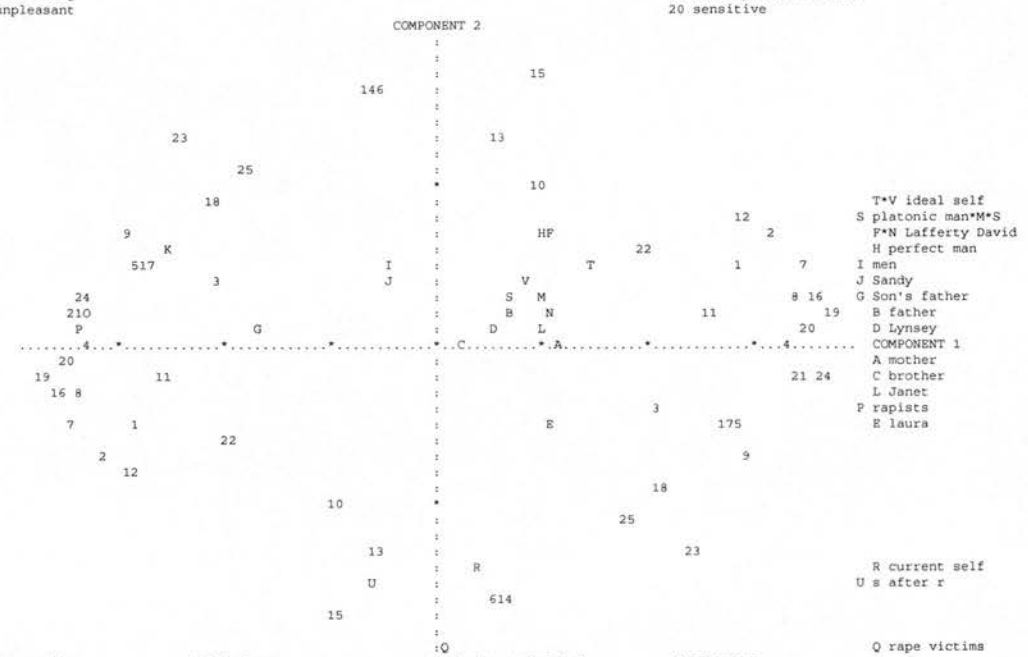
Axis 1 has been reflected
Axis 2 has been reflected
ELEMENT 20  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

23 loud
18 domineering
9 spontaneous
17 impulsive
5 male chauvenist
3 male thinking
21 careless
24 non caring
4 unpleasant

6 more confident
14 self assured
25 controller

15 trustful
13 secure
10 easy going
22 fun

12 settled
2 more relaxed
7 communicative
1 tolerant
16 unselfish
8 responsible
19 worthy
11 not dependent on men
20 sensitive



20 insensitive
11 independent of men
19 unworthy
8 irresponsible
16 self centred
1 intolerant
7 uncommunicative
2 highly strung
12 very unsettled

22 funless
10 defensive
13 insecure
15 mistrusting

25 being controlled
14 not self assured
6 less confident

4 pleasant
24 caring
21 careful
3 male orientated
5 not male chauvinist
17 reserved
9 controlled
18 dominated
23 quiet

****

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r2 Time: 13:42:32
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                    1                   2                   3                   4                   5
NEGATIVE POLE                                               .                                       POSITIVE POLE
                                                            .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                                 .                   !                   COMPONENT 1
                                                            .                   !
unworthy                                                    *                                       worthy
self centred                                                ++++++++++++++++                        unselfish
uncommunicative             ##################################                                      communicative
insensitive                                                 .                   !                   sensitive
                                                            .                   !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                                 .       !                               COMPONENT 2
                                                            .       !
less confident                  ****************************                                        more confident
not self assured                                            +++++++++                               self assured
mistrusting                                                 ########                                trustful
quiet                                                       .       !                               loud
                                                            .       !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                        0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                            ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r2 Time: 13:42:32
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT  ********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

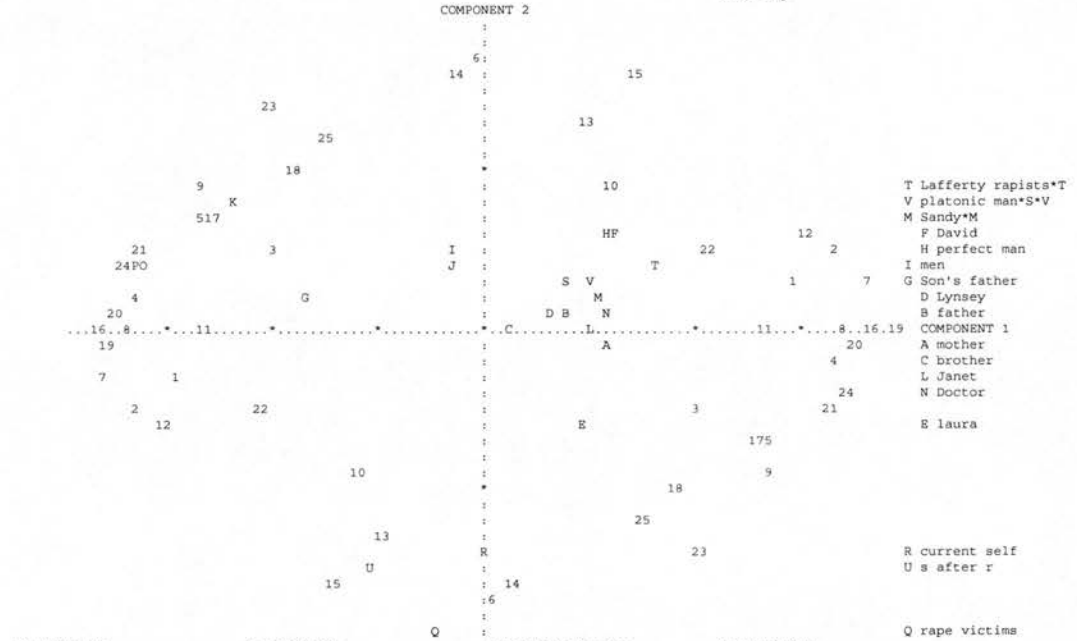
Axis 1 has been reflected
Axis 2 has been reflected
ELEMENT 20  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

23 loud
9 spontaneous
5 male chauvenist
17 impulsive
21 careless
24 non caring
4 unpleasant
20 insensitive

6 more confident
14 self assured
25 controller
18 domineering
3 male thinking

15 trustful
13 secure
10 easy going

12 settled
22 fun
2 more relaxed
1 tolerant
7 communicative
8 responsible
16 unselfish
11 not dependent on men
19 worthy



T Lafferty rapists*T
V platonic man*S*V
M Sandy*M
F David
H perfect man
I men
G Son's father
D Lynsey
B father
A mother
C brother
L Janet
N Doctor
E laura
R current self
U s after r
Q rape victims

19 unworthy
11 independent of men
16 self centred
8 irresponsible
7 uncommunicative
1 intolerant
2 highly strung
22 funless
12 very unsettled

10 defensive
13 insecure
15 mistrusting

3 male orientated
18 dominated
25 being controlled
14 not self assured
6 less confident

20 sensitive
4 pleasant
24 caring
21 careful
17 reserved
5 not male chauvinist
9 controlled
23 quiet

****

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r3 Time: 01-25-1994  11:48:01
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: rape
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices
```

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
have been raped	/hasn't been raped	1	1	5.17	7	2.63	11.35
trustworthy	/not trustworthy	2	1	2.78	7	2.37	9.21
gentle	/loud and obnoxious	3	1	2.78	7	1.55	3.93
feel love towards	/feel anger	4	1	3.06	7	2.25	8.29
insecure	/more in control	5	1	4.67	7	2.05	6.93
reliable	/unreliable	6	1	2.94	7	2.25	8.29
passive	/aggressor	7	1	4.11	7	1.73	4.90
to be happy	/to be miserable	8	1	2.22	7	2.32	8.85
vulnerable	/threatening	9	2	3.78	7	1.62	4.29
threatening	/secure	10	1	4.83	7	2.19	7.88
tactile	/reserved	11	1	3.83	7	1.67	4.60
non hostile	/hostile	12	1	3.22	7	2.46	9.94
no self confidence	/more confidence	13	1	5.39	7	1.67	4.58
content	/unhappy	14	1	2.39	7	2.06	6.95
		Total mean		3.65		Mean var.	4.35

Transformed matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
1	0.70	0.70	0.70	-1.58	0.70	0.70	-1.58	0.70	-0.82	-1.58	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70	-1.58	0.70	-1.20	0.70
2	-0.75	-0.75	-0.75	-0.75	-0.75	1.78	0.52	-0.75	1.78	-0.75	-0.75	-0.75	0.94	0.94	-0.75	1.78	0.52	-0.75
3	-1.15	-0.50	0.14	-1.15	-0.50	1.44	0.79	-0.50	2.73	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	1.44	-0.50	0.79	-0.50	-0.50
4	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	1.75	0.42	-0.91	1.75	-0.02	-0.02	-0.91	-0.02	0.42	-0.02	1.75	1.31	-0.91
5	0.16	0.65	0.16	-1.30	0.16	1.14	-1.78	0.65	-1.30	-0.81	-0.81	1.14	0.65	0.65	0.16	1.14	-1.78	1.14
6	-0.87	-0.87	-0.87	-0.87	0.02	1.80	0.47	-0.42	1.80	-0.42	-0.42	-0.87	-0.87	0.47	-0.42	1.80	1.36	-0.87
7	-0.06	0.51	0.51	-0.64	-0.64	1.67	-1.80	-0.64	1.67	0.51	-0.64	-0.06	-0.06	0.51	-0.64	1.67	-1.80	-0.06
8	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	2.06	-0.53	-0.53	2.06	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	-0.53	2.06	1.20	-0.53
9	-1.10	0.14	-1.10	-1.10	0.14	1.99	-1.10	0.14	1.37	-0.48	-1.10	0.14	0.14	0.76	0.14	1.99	-1.10	0.14
10	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.53	-1.75	-0.38	0.53	-1.75	-0.38	-0.38	0.99	0.99	-0.84	-0.38	-1.75	-0.38	0.99
11	1.29	0.10	0.70	0.70	0.10	0.10	1.29	-0.50	-1.09	-1.09	0.10	-1.69	-1.09	0.70	0.10	0.10	1.89	-1.69
12	-0.90	-0.90	-0.90	-0.90	-0.90	1.53	0.32	-0.90	1.53	0.72	-0.09	-0.90	-0.90	0.72	-0.90	1.53	1.53	0.32
13	0.37	0.96	-0.23	-0.23	0.37	0.37	-2.63	0.37	0.37	-0.23	-1.43	0.96	0.37	0.37	0.37	0.96	-2.03	0.96
14	-0.67	-0.67	-0.67	-0.19	-0.19	0.78	2.24	-0.67	-0.19	-0.67	1.75	-0.67	-0.67	-0.19	-0.19	-0.67	2.24	-0.67

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	1.00	89.1	90.3	102.6	39.6	98.0	68.0	91.9	71.2	78.0	103.5	101.2	58.1	111.8
2	0.01	1.00	36.4	26.0	89.6	31.5	60.4	35.3	47.0	141.0	86.5	40.5	91.2	77.1
3	-0.00	0.80	1.00	42.4	92.3	40.3	55.3	48.5	49.8	141.3	93.3	46.9	89.3	81.4
4	-0.22	0.90	0.74	1.00	101.6	20.7	67.4	28.3	55.3	157.3	81.4	27.0	102.3	64.7
5	0.77	0.01	-0.04	-0.20	1.00	99.9	60.3	91.8	55.8	81.5	116.9	101.8	35.5	129.7
6	-0.14	0.85	0.76	0.94	-0.17	1.00	69.0	24.9	52.6	154.7	77.4	28.9	99.9	65.6
7	0.37	0.49	0.57	0.38	0.50	0.36	1.00	56.8	40.2	116.7	113.4	68.1	48.8	121.8
8	-0.03	0.82	0.66	0.88	-0.03	0.91	0.55	1.00	48.4	142.1	87.0	36.2	87.2	78.3
9	0.32	0.68	0.65	0.57	0.56	0.61	0.76	0.66	1.00	128.4	113.8	60.9	52.6	107.9
10	0.21	-0.78	-0.78	-0.92	0.15	-0.90	-0.45	-0.79	-0.62	1.00	95.6	147.9	82.0	110.8
11	-0.23	0.06	-0.06	0.15	-0.45	0.22	-0.40	0.05	-0.40	-0.10	1.00	85.6	126.3	56.6
12	-0.19	0.76	0.68	0.89	-0.20	0.88	0.37	0.81	0.49	-0.85	0.08	1.00	102.1	66.5
13	0.53	-0.02	0.01	-0.21	0.81	-0.17	0.66	0.05	0.61	0.14	-0.59	-0.21	1.00	152.1
14	-0.37	0.22	0.15	0.43	-0.64	0.41	-0.53	0.20	-0.31	-0.35	0.55	0.40	-0.88	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.539 Mean absolute value +0.454

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
2	0.38																
3	0.30	0.37															
4	0.54	0.69	0.60														
5	0.41	0.33	0.42	0.61													
6	1.48	1.32	1.39	1.59	1.29												
7	1.19	1.31	1.13	0.93	1.10	1.46											
8	0.45	0.29	0.44	0.67	0.19	1.32	1.20										
9	1.59	1.45	1.46	1.55	1.40	0.65	1.40	1.43									
10	0.80	0.74	0.73	0.62	0.70	1.27	1.02	0.69	1.17								
11	0.73	0.82	0.69	0.71	0.64	1.33	0.71	0.72	1.41	0.74							
12	0.64	0.36	0.59	0.84	0.45	1.38	1.41	0.31	1.48	0.76	0.90						
13	0.62	0.44	0.57	0.79	0.48	1.23	1.25	0.40	1.33	0.73	0.82	0.39					
14	0.89	0.77	0.79	1.06	0.72	0.75	1.10	0.76	0.92	0.83	0.88	0.89	0.73				
15	0.64	0.59	0.64	0.51	0.49	1.28	0.98	0.51	1.30	0.50	0.72	0.67	0.65	0.78			
16	1.42	1.27	1.36	1.56	1.25	0.31	1.57	1.27	0.70	1.23	1.40	1.33	1.18	0.76	1.25		
17	1.27	1.41	1.28	1.09	1.21	1.34	0.54	1.32	1.35	1.13	0.86	1.53	1.36	1.17	1.12	1.43	
18	0.68	0.42	0.63	0.87	0.51	1.33	1.39	0.38	1.43	0.70	0.89	0.22	0.45	0.84	0.70	1.27	1.48

Table of principal components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
have been raped	/hasn't been raped	1	-0.082	0.673	0.678	1.000	46.029
trustworthy	/not trustworthy	2	0.918	0.044	0.919	1.000	84.414
gentle	/loud and obnoxious	3	0.849	0.091	0.854	1.000	72.933
feel love towards	/feel anger	4	0.962	-0.183	0.979	1.000	95.814
insecure	/more in control	5	-0.062	0.887	0.889	1.000	79.065
reliable	/unreliable	6	0.958	-0.161	0.971	1.000	94.303
passive	/aggressor	7	0.549	0.711	0.899	1.000	80.733
to be happy	/to be miserable	8	0.915	0.049	0.916	1.000	83.920
vulnerable	/threatening	9	0.714	0.639	0.958	1.000	91.756
threatening	/secure	10	-0.934	0.111	0.941	1.000	88.476
tactile	/reserved	11	0.050	-0.664	0.666	1.000	44.292
non hostile	/hostile	12	0.895	-0.176	0.912	1.000	83.219
no self confidence	/more confidence	13	-0.039	0.957	0.958	1.000	91.718
content	/unhappy	14	0.281	-0.845	0.890	1.000	79.239
%VARIANCE			48.714	30.994	79.708		

Factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A mother	1	-0.969	0.078	0.972	*	0.678	0.680	67.581
B father	2	-0.729	0.783	1.070	*	0.670	0.504	89.119
C sister	3	-0.763	0.160	0.779	*	0.540	0.515	56.526
D best friend	4	-0.956	-0.804	1.249	*	0.804	0.852	75.821
E kevin	5	-0.607	0.222	0.647	*	0.442	0.296	65.768
F rapists	6	1.991	0.644	2.093	*	1.435	2.179	94.547
G rape victims	7	0.208	-2.322	2.331	*	1.301	1.824	92.786
H bobby	8	-0.699	0.524	0.873	*	0.568	0.384	84.034
I ralph	9	2.079	0.218	2.091	*	1.456	2.500	84.814
J current self	10	-0.167	-0.197	0.258	*	0.160	0.522	4.905
K self before	11	-0.343	-1.010	1.067	*	0.611	0.665	56.154
L ideal self	12	-0.793	1.061	1.325	*	0.810	0.751	87.315
M perfect man	13	-0.429	0.718	0.836	*	0.499	0.476	52.361
N men	14	0.670	0.395	0.778	*	0.517	0.517	51.725
O sian	15	-0.392	-0.176	0.430	*	0.291	0.384	21.985
P rapist	16	1.847	1.046	2.123	*	1.415	2.122	94.337
Q self after	17	0.685	-2.350	2.448	*	1.393	2.128	91.171
R perfect woman	18	-0.633	1.012	1.194	*	0.716	0.700	73.259

Variance of transformed data= 1.000001 Variance of derived data= .7970794
Correlation transformed, derived .8927935

Residual matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
1	0.56	0.11	0.53	-1.12	0.50	0.43	-0.00	0.29	-0.80	-1.47	1.35	-0.08	0.18	0.49	-1.50	0.14	0.44	-0.04
2	0.14	-0.12	-0.06	0.16	-0.20	-0.07	0.43	-0.13	-0.14	-0.59	-0.39	-0.07	1.30	0.31	-0.38	0.04	-0.01	-0.21
3	-0.33	0.05	0.78	-0.26	-0.01	-0.31	0.83	0.04	0.94	-0.34	-0.12	0.07	-0.20	0.83	-0.15	-0.87	-0.87	-0.06
4	0.03	-0.07	-0.15	-0.14	-0.29	-0.04	-0.21	-0.15	-0.20	0.10	0.12	0.04	0.52	-0.15	0.32	0.17	0.22	-0.12
5	0.03	-0.09	-0.03	-0.64	-0.07	0.69	0.29	0.14	-1.36	-0.65	0.06	0.15	-0.01	0.34	0.29	0.32	0.34	0.20
6	0.08	-0.04	-0.11	-0.08	0.64	0.00	-0.10	0.33	-0.15	-0.29	-0.25	0.07	-0.34	-0.11	-0.07	0.20	0.33	-0.10
7	0.41	0.36	0.82	0.45	-0.47	0.12	-0.26	-0.63	0.37	0.75	0.26	-0.38	-0.34	-0.13	-0.30	-0.09	-0.50	-0.44
8	0.36	0.10	0.16	0.39	0.02	0.20	-0.60	0.09	0.14	-0.36	-0.16	0.15	-0.17	-1.16	-0.16	0.32	0.68	0.00
9	-0.46	0.16	-0.66	0.10	0.43	0.16	0.24	0.30	-0.25	-0.24	-0.21	0.03	-0.02	0.02	0.53	0.00	-0.09	-0.06
10	0.07	0.22	0.26	0.18	-0.06	0.04	0.07	-0.18	0.17	-0.51	-0.59	0.13	0.51	-0.25	-0.73	-0.14	0.52	0.28
11	1.39	0.65	0.84	0.21	0.28	0.43	-0.26	-0.12	-1.05	-1.22	-0.55	-0.95	-0.60	0.93	0.00	0.70	0.30	-0.99
12	-0.02	-0.11	-0.19	-0.19	-0.32	-0.13	-0.28	-0.18	-0.29	0.84	0.04	-0.01	-0.39	0.19	-0.58	0.07	0.51	1.06
13	0.25	0.19	-0.42	0.50	0.13	-0.17	-0.40	-0.16	0.24	-0.05	-0.48	-0.08	-0.34	0.01	0.52	0.04	0.25	-0.03
14	-0.34	0.19	-0.33	-0.60	0.17	0.77	0.22	-0.04	-0.59	-0.79	1.00	0.44	0.05	-0.04	-0.23	-0.31	0.06	0.36

Table of VARIMAX rotated components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
have been raped	/hasn't been raped	1	-0.076	0.674	0.678
trustworthy	/not trustworthy	2	0.918	0.036	0.919
gentle	/loud and obnoxious	3	0.850	0.084	0.854
feel love towards	/feel anger	4	0.960	-0.192	0.979
insecure	/more in control	5	-0.054	0.888	0.889
reliable	/unreliable	6	0.956	-0.169	0.971
passive	/aggressor	7	0.555	0.706	0.899
to be happy	/to be miserable	8	0.915	0.041	0.916
vulnerable	/threatening	9	0.720	0.632	0.958
threatening	/secure	10	-0.933	0.120	0.941
tactile	/reserved	11	0.044	-0.664	0.666
non hostile	/hostile	12	0.893	-0.184	0.912
no self confidence	/more confidence	13	-0.030	0.957	0.958
content	/unhappy	14	0.273	-0.847	0.890
%VARIANCE			48.712	30.996	79.708

Transformation matrix
****

	1	2
1	1.000	-0.009
2	0.009	1.000

Rotated factor scores

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A mother	1	-0.969	0.087	0.972
B father	2	-0.722	0.789	1.070
C sister	3	-0.761	0.166	0.779
D best friend	4	-0.963	-0.796	1.249
E kevin	5	-0.605	0.228	0.647
F rapists	6	1.997	0.626	2.093
G rape victims	7	0.187	-2.324	2.331
H bobby	8	-0.694	0.530	0.873
I ralph	9	2.081	0.200	2.091
J current self	10	-0.168	-0.196	0.258
K self before	11	-0.352	-1.007	1.067
L ideal self	12	-0.784	1.068	1.325
M perfect man	13	-0.422	0.722	0.836
N men	14	0.674	0.389	0.778
O sian	15	-0.393	-0.173	0.430
P rapist	16	1.857	1.029	2.123
Q self after	17	0.664	-2.356	2.448
R perfect woman	18	-0.624	1.017	1.194

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r3 Time: 11:48:44
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET  ********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

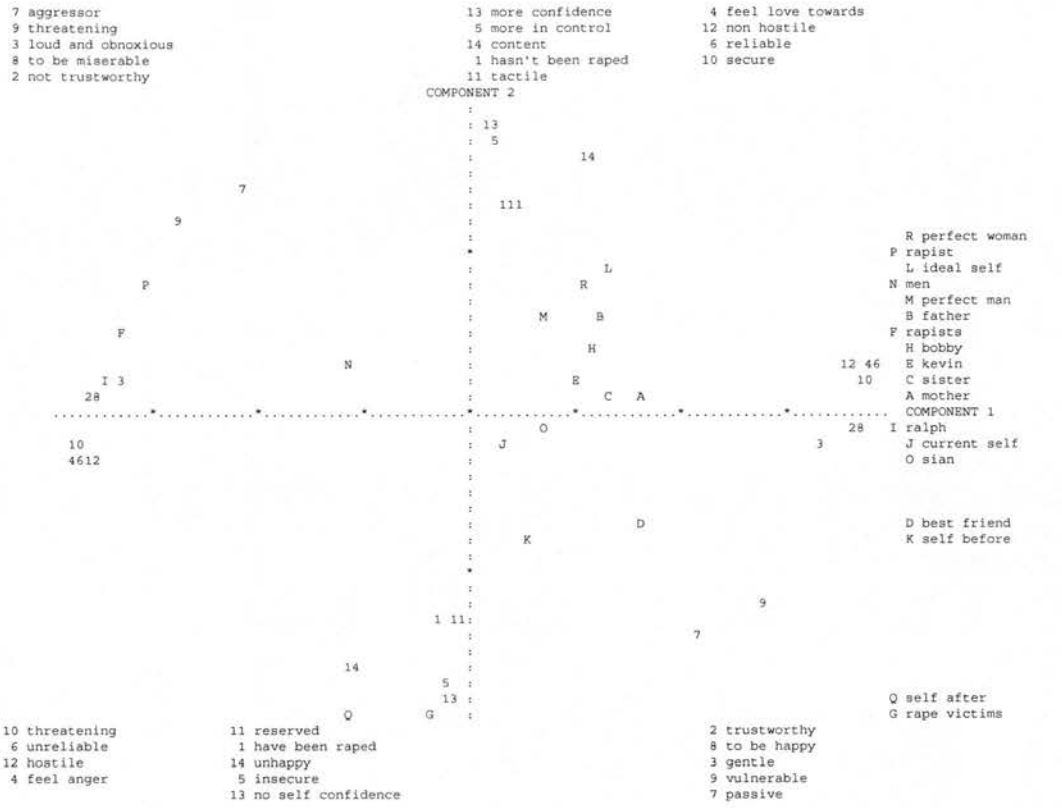

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                      NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                    1                    2                  3                  4                  5
NEGATIVE POLE                                                .                                     POSITIVE POLE
                                                             .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                                  .                  !                  COMPONENT 1
                                                             .                  !
feel anger                                                   ***                                   feel love towards
unreliable                                                   ++++++++++++++                        reliable
threatening                ##################################                                      secure
not trustworthy                                              .                  !                  trustworthy
                                                             .                  !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                                  .          !                         COMPONENT 2
                                                             .          !
no self confidence                                       ***                                       more confidence
insecure                                                     ++++++++++++++++++                    more in control
unhappy                                                      ##########                            content
passive                                                      .          !                          aggressor
                                                             .          !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                         0      20      40      60      80     100
                                                              ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r3 Time: 11:48:44
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT  ******************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 12  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```



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**********************************************************************************************************
```

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F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r3 Time: 11:48:48
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

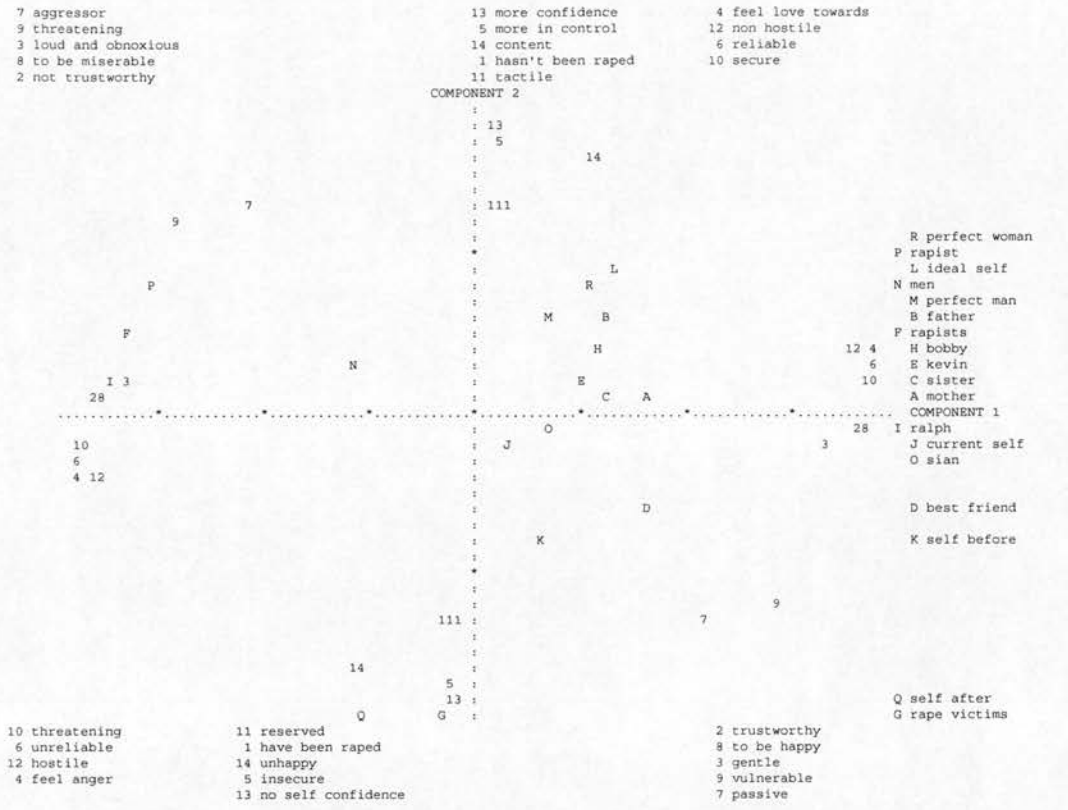

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                                POSITIVE
                        1               2               3               4               5
NEGATIVE POLE                                           .                               POSITIVE POLE
                                                        .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                             .               !               COMPONENT 1
                                                        .               !
feel anger                                               ***                            feel love towards
unreliable                                              ++++++++++++                    reliable
threatening             ##################################                              secure
not trustworthy                                         .               !               trustworthy
                                                        .               !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                             .       !                       COMPONENT 2
                                                        .       !
no self confidence                                   ***                                more confidence
insecure                                                ++++++++++++++++++              more in control
unhappy                                                 ##########                      content
passive                                                 .       !                       aggressor
                                                        .       !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                    0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                        ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r3 Time: 11:48:49
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT  ******************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 12  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```



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**********************************************************************************************************************
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r4 Time: 02-08-1994  09:48:56
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: rape
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices
```

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
deeply hurt	/not so hurt	1	1	2.29	5	1.35	3.40
sold ourselves	/using	2	1	3.43	7	1.76	5.79
dependent on me	/not dependent on me	3	1	2.95	7	1.50	4.17
felt disgusted	/not so disgusted	4	1	3.19	5	1.47	4.02
feel dirty	/pure	5	1	3.00	6	1.63	4.98
enthusiastic	/cynical	6	1	4.29	7	1.55	4.47
sexually abused	/not sexually abused	7	1	3.48	7	2.06	7.93
would rape	/wouldn't rape	8	1	4.67	7	2.30	9.84
doesn't respect partners	/respects partners	9	1	4.24	7	2.02	7.63
security	/insecurity	10	1	2.29	5	1.42	3.76
explorative	/not explorative	11	2	3.81	7	1.76	5.80
exploiting	/not exploiting	12	1	4.67	7	2.08	8.06
identify with rape v	/not identify with rape v	13	1	2.62	7	2.01	7.55
more tender	/less tender	14	1	3.71	7	2.21	9.09
alienated	/confident	15	1	3.43	7	2.06	7.92
controlling	/laissez faire	16	1	4.33	7	1.73	5.57
		Total mean		3.52		Mean var.	3.35

Transformed matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	-0.95	-0.21	1.27	-0.95	0.53	-0.95	-0.21	-0.21	0.53	2.01	-0.21	1.27	1.27	2.01	-0.95	-0.95	-0.21	-0.95	-0.95	-0.95
2	0.89	-0.24	0.32	-1.38	-0.24	-1.38	-1.38	-0.24	0.32	1.46	0.32	2.03	0.89	1.46	0.32	0.32	-0.81	-0.24	-1.38	-1.38
3	0.70	-0.64	-1.31	-0.64	0.70	-0.64	0.70	0.70	0.70	-0.64	0.70	2.71	-1.31	0.70	0.70	0.03	-0.64	-0.64	-1.31	-1.31
4	-0.81	1.23	1.23	1.23	0.55	0.55	1.23	0.55	0.55	-0.81	0.55	-1.49	-1.49	-1.49	0.55	-0.13	0.55	-0.13	-1.49	-1.49
5	0.61	-0.61	-0.61	-0.61	0.61	-0.00	-0.00	1.22	1.22	-0.61	1.84	-1.22	-1.22	-1.22	1.84	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-1.22	-1.22
6	-0.18	-0.18	-1.48	1.11	-2.12	0.46	-0.83	0.46	0.46	-0.18	-0.18	1.11	-0.83	-0.18	-0.18	1.11	-1.48	-0.18	1.75	1.75
7	-1.20	1.71	1.71	-0.72	0.25	-1.20	1.71	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	1.71	-0.23	0.25	-0.72	-1.20	-0.23	-0.72	-1.20	-1.20
8	-1.60	-0.73	-0.73	-0.73	0.58	0.58	0.58	1.02	1.02	-0.73	1.02	-1.60	-1.60	-1.60	-0.29	1.02	0.15	0.58	1.02	1.02
9	-1.60	0.38	0.87	0.38	-0.12	-0.61	-1.60	1.37	1.37	-0.61	1.37	-1.60	-0.61	-1.60	-0.12	0.87	0.38	0.38	-0.12	-0.12
10	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	-0.91	0.50	0.50	-0.91	0.50	1.91	-0.91	1.21	1.21	0.50	1.21	1.21	-0.91	-0.91
11	1.81	0.68	0.68	-1.03	-0.46	1.24	-0.46	-1.03	-1.03	0.11	-0.46	-1.03	0.68	0.11	0.11	-1.03	-1.03	-1.03	1.81	1.81
12	-1.76	-0.80	0.16	0.16	0.64	-0.80	-0.32	1.12	1.12	-0.32	-0.80	-1.76	-0.80	-1.76	1.12	0.64	0.16	0.64	1.12	1.12
13	-0.31	0.69	0.19	-0.31	-0.31	-0.80	-0.31	-0.80	-0.80	1.18	-0.31	2.18	1.68	2.18	-0.80	-0.80	0.69	-0.80	-0.80	-0.80
14	1.49	-0.78	-1.23	-1.23	-0.78	-0.32	-0.32	-0.78	-0.78	1.04	0.13	1.49	0.58	1.49	0.13	-0.32	-1.23	-0.78	1.49	1.49
15	-1.18	0.28	0.28	-0.69	-0.21	-1.18	0.28	0.28	0.28	1.73	0.76	1.73	1.25	1.73	-1.18	-0.69	-0.21	-1.18	-1.18	-1.18
16	-1.93	-0.19	-1.93	-0.77	0.39	-1.35	0.39	0.96	0.96	-0.19	0.39	-0.19	-1.35	-0.19	-0.19	0.96	-0.19	0.39	1.54	1.54

	U
1	-0.21
2	0.32
3	0.70
4	0.55
5	1.22
6	-0.18
7	0.25
8	1.02
9	1.37
10	1.21
11	-0.46
12	1.12
13	-0.80
14	-0.78
15	0.28
16	0.96

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	1.00	46.4	80.1	105.5	108.9	112.4	54.3	121.5	104.6	85.3	97.9	114.0	37.4	78.3	26.2	104.2
2	0.69	1.00	60.3	113.6	90.0	99.6	71.9	126.1	102.5	64.7	100.0	118.8	50.4	68.0	46.8	105.4
3	0.17	0.50	1.00	89.8	65.8	90.8	69.7	95.8	101.6	53.8	118.2	106.3	80.3	81.9	69.7	83.3
4	-0.27	-0.40	0.00	1.00	57.6	113.7	70.6	71.6	60.1	95.4	113.0	74.3	115.3	151.6	101.5	96.8
5	-0.32	-0.00	0.41	0.54	1.00	104.2	94.1	62.8	59.7	72.0	110.3	70.3	124.4	114.2	102.3	81.3
6	-0.38	-0.17	-0.01	-0.40	-0.24	1.00	114.6	78.4	88.6	87.2	79.8	81.5	103.0	64.6	104.3	64.7
7	0.58	0.31	0.35	0.33	-0.07	-0.42	1.00	105.0	92.9	85.2	107.6	106.6	62.1	102.8	48.0	97.2
8	-0.52	-0.59	-0.10	0.32	0.46	0.20	-0.26	1.00	51.5	87.5	100.4	41.8	142.3	110.9	116.3	42.6
9	-0.25	-0.22	-0.20	0.50	0.50	0.02	-0.05	0.62	1.00	80.9	111.2	48.3	121.9	130.3	100.0	68.1
10	0.08	0.43	0.59	-0.09	0.31	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.16	1.00	127.3	88.1	81.1	92.0	77.4	74.2
11	-0.14	-0.17	-0.47	-0.39	-0.35	0.18	-0.30	-0.18	-0.36	-0.61	1.00	100.0	92.7	56.7	107.8	104.2
12	-0.41	-0.48	-0.28	0.27	0.34	0.15	-0.29	0.75	0.67	0.03	-0.17	1.00	135.6	114.5	118.6	51.1
13	0.79	0.64	0.17	-0.43	-0.57	-0.23	0.47	-0.79	-0.53	0.15	-0.05	-0.71	1.00	68.1	37.1	112.8
14	0.20	0.37	0.14	-0.88	-0.41	0.43	-0.22	-0.36	-0.65	-0.03	0.55	-0.42	0.37	1.00	79.4	87.1
15	0.90	0.68	0.35	-0.20	-0.21	-0.25	0.67	-0.44	-0.17	0.22	-0.31	-0.48	0.80	0.18	1.00	96.1
16	-0.24	-0.27	0.12	-0.12	0.15	0.43	-0.12	0.74	0.37	0.27	-0.25	0.63	-0.39	0.05	-0.11	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.402 Mean absolute value +0.341

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	1.03																			
3	1.18	0.53																		
4	1.09	0.68	0.89																	
5	1.10	0.71	0.76	0.83																
6	0.78	0.78	0.96	0.59	0.85															
7	1.12	0.61	0.87	0.80	0.55	0.82														
8	1.30	0.85	1.02	0.77	0.63	0.94	0.79													
9	1.30	0.87	0.99	0.83	0.63	0.99	0.83	0.16												
10	1.02	0.80	0.85	1.09	0.89	1.10	0.97	1.07	1.00											
11	1.11	0.78	0.97	0.89	0.65	0.90	0.79	0.45	0.46	0.94										
12	1.31	1.27	1.46	1.52	1.40	1.58	1.31	1.42	1.38	0.96	1.28									
13	0.92	0.82	0.83	1.08	1.02	1.05	1.09	1.26	1.23	0.43	1.12	1.10								
14	1.09	1.08	1.21	1.37	1.21	1.35	1.20	1.35	1.31	0.60	1.18	0.56	0.67							
15	0.92	0.93	1.06	0.82	0.71	0.79	0.89	0.61	0.64	1.10	0.65	1.40	1.19	1.29						
16	1.15	0.92	1.14	0.68	0.79	0.80	0.93	0.47	0.51	1.06	0.65	1.41	1.19	1.31	0.61					
17	1.16	0.69	0.78	0.68	0.56	0.82	0.74	0.66	0.70	0.96	0.69	1.36	0.97	1.15	0.70	0.71				
18	1.12	0.85	1.00	0.64	0.68	0.74	0.84	0.55	0.60	1.08	0.70	1.44	1.13	1.30	0.54	0.36	0.47			
19	1.18	1.13	1.37	1.01	1.16	0.84	1.16	1.09	1.13	1.19	1.18	1.68	1.23	1.46	1.07	0.84	1.18	0.92		
20	1.18	1.13	1.37	1.01	1.16	0.84	1.16	1.09	1.13	1.19	1.18	1.68	1.23	1.46	1.07	0.84	1.18	0.92	0.00	
21	1.28	0.86	1.00	0.88	0.62	0.98	0.84	0.22	0.23	1.06	0.43	1.39	1.24	1.32	0.56	0.52	0.63	0.54	1.13	1.13

Table of principal components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
deeply hurt	/not so hurt	1	0.789	0.315	0.850	1.000	72.262
sold ourselves	/using	2	0.743	0.317	0.807	1.000	65.192
dependent on me	/not dependent on me	3	0.282	0.531	0.601	1.000	36.156
felt disgusted	/not so disgusted	4	-0.495	0.578	0.761	1.000	57.968
feel dirty	/pure	5	-0.496	0.553	0.743	1.000	55.204
enthusiastic	/cynical	6	-0.200	-0.493	0.533	1.000	28.371
sexually abused	/not sexually abused	7	0.439	0.603	0.746	1.000	55.598
would rape	/wouldn't rape	8	-0.851	0.118	0.859	1.000	73.782
doesn't respect partners	/respects partners	9	-0.664	0.437	0.795	1.000	63.189
security	/insecurity	10	0.085	0.538	0.544	1.000	29.630
explorative	/not explorative	11	0.092	-0.822	0.827	1.000	68.459
exploiting	/not exploiting	12	-0.807	0.093	0.813	1.000	66.061
identify with rape v	/not identify with rape v	13	0.939	0.083	0.943	1.000	88.876
more tender	/less tender	14	0.526	-0.616	0.810	1.000	65.635
alienated	/confident	15	0.759	0.447	0.881	1.000	77.632
controlling	/laissez faire	16	-0.484	0.070	0.489	1.000	23.949
%VARIANCE			36.126	21.871	57.998		

Factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A mother	1	0.724	-1.441	1.613	*	0.802	1.529	42.106
B father	2	0.258	0.177	0.314	*	0.176	0.571	5.431
C francis	3	0.378	0.564	0.679	*	0.348	1.147	10.559
D kevin	4	-0.661	-0.246	0.705	*	0.414	0.756	22.619
E anna	5	-0.294	0.764	0.819	*	0.399	0.548	29.032
F stella	6	-0.591	-1.137	1.282	*	0.640	0.804	50.904
G carol	7	-0.072	0.450	0.456	*	0.215	0.752	6.143
H perfect man	8	-0.893	1.054	1.382	*	0.729	0.650	81.746
I perfect woman	9	-0.719	1.173	1.376	*	0.698	0.668	73.026
J men	10	1.320	-0.155	1.329	*	0.797	0.941	67.391
K platonic man	11	-0.297	1.012	1.055	*	0.506	0.579	44.179
L jasper	12	2.301	0.649	2.390	*	1.416	2.742	73.089
M andrew	13	1.487	-0.746	1.663	*	0.959	1.249	73.707
N rapists	14	2.173	-0.084	2.175	*	1.307	1.887	90.492
O rape victims	15	-0.646	0.303	0.714	*	0.413	0.666	25.666
P current self	16	-0.886	0.011	0.886	*	0.532	0.586	48.385
Q self before r1	17	-0.275	0.756	0.804	*	0.390	0.526	28.951
R self before r2	18	-0.835	0.162	0.850	*	0.508	0.508	50.692
S self after r1	19	-0.847	-2.219	2.375	*	1.156	1.613	82.861
T self after r2	20	-0.847	-2.219	2.375	*	1.156	1.613	82.861
U ideal self	21	-0.779	1.172	1.407	*	0.721	0.665	78.160

Variance of transformed data= 1.000001 Variance of derived data= .5799785
Correlation transformed, derived .7615629

Residual matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	-1.07	-0.47	0.79	-0.35	0.52	-0.13	-0.30	0.16	0.73	1.02	-0.30	-0.75	0.33	0.32	-0.54	-0.26	-0.23	-0.34	0.42	0.42
2	0.81	-0.49	-0.14	-0.81	-0.27	-0.58	-1.47	0.09	0.49	0.53	0.22	0.11	0.02	-0.13	0.71	0.98	-0.85	0.33	-0.05	-0.05
3	1.26	-0.80	-1.71	-0.32	0.38	0.13	0.48	0.39	0.28	-0.93	0.25	1.71	-1.33	0.13	0.72	0.28	-0.96	-0.49	0.11	0.11
4	0.38	1.26	1.09	1.05	-0.04	0.92	0.94	-0.50	-0.48	-0.07	-0.18	-0.73	-0.32	-0.37	0.06	-0.58	-0.02	-0.64	-0.63	-0.63
5	1.77	-0.58	-0.74	-0.80	0.04	0.34	-0.28	0.20	0.22	0.13	1.13	-0.44	-0.07	-0.10	1.35	-0.45	-0.55	-0.50	-0.42	-0.42
6	-0.75	-0.05	-1.12	0.85	-1.81	-0.22	-0.62	0.80	0.90	0.00	0.26	1.89	-0.90	0.21	-0.16	0.94	-1.16	-0.27	0.49	0.49
7	-0.65	1.49	1.20	-0.28	-0.08	-0.26	1.47	0.01	-0.14	-0.23	-0.23	0.31	-0.43	-0.65	-0.62	-0.82	-0.57	-0.45	0.51	0.51
8	-0.81	-0.53	-0.47	-1.26	0.24	0.21	0.47	0.13	0.27	0.42	0.64	0.28	-0.24	0.26	-0.88	0.26	-0.18	-0.15	0.56	0.56
9	-0.49	0.47	0.88	0.05	-0.65	-0.51	-1.85	0.31	0.38	0.33	0.73	-0.36	0.70	-0.12	-0.68	0.28	-0.14	-0.25	0.29	0.29
10	-0.19	-1.02	-1.24	-0.72	-1.29	-0.24	-1.14	0.01	-0.07	-0.93	-0.02	1.37	-0.63	1.07	1.10	0.57	0.83	1.19	0.36	0.36
11	0.56	0.80	1.10	-1.17	0.20	0.36	-0.08	-0.08	0.00	-0.14	0.40	-0.71	-0.07	-0.16	0.42	-0.94	-0.38	-0.82	0.06	0.06
12	-1.05	-0.61	0.41	-0.35	0.33	-1.17	-0.42	0.30	0.43	0.76	-1.14	0.03	0.47	-0.00	0.57	-0.07	-0.13	-0.05	0.65	0.65
13	-0.87	0.43	-0.21	0.33	-0.09	-0.16	-0.28	-0.05	-0.23	-0.04	-0.11	-0.04	0.35	0.14	-0.22	0.03	0.88	-0.03	0.17	0.17
14	0.22	-0.80	-1.08	-1.03	-0.15	-0.71	-0.01	0.34	0.32	0.25	0.91	0.68	-0.66	0.29	0.66	0.15	-0.62	-0.24	0.57	0.57
15	-1.08	0.00	-0.26	-0.08	-0.33	-0.22	0.13	0.48	0.30	0.80	0.54	-0.30	0.45	0.12	-0.82	-0.03	-0.34	-0.62	0.46	0.46
16	-1.48	-0.08	-1.79	-1.07	0.19	-1.56	0.32	0.46	0.53	0.46	0.17	0.88	-0.58	0.87	-0.53	0.53	-0.38	-0.03	1.29	1.29

	U
1	0.03
2	0.53
3	0.30
4	-0.51
5	0.19
6	0.24
7	-0.11
8	0.22
9	0.34
10	0.64
11	0.58
12	0.39
13	-0.17
14	0.35
15	0.34
16	0.51

Table of VARIMAX rotated components

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
deeply hurt	/not so hurt	1	0.561	0.639	0.850
sold ourselves	/using	2	0.518	0.619	0.807
dependent on me	/not dependent on me	3	0.010	0.601	0.601
felt disgusted	/not so disgusted	4	-0.703	0.291	0.761
feel dirty	/pure	5	-0.693	0.268	0.743
enthusiastic	/cynical	6	0.045	-0.531	0.533
sexually abused	/not sexually abused	7	0.119	0.736	0.746
would rape	/wouldn't rape	8	-0.812	-0.280	0.859
doesn't respect partners	/respects partners	9	-0.790	0.089	0.795
security	/insecurity	10	-0.168	0.518	0.544
explorative	/not explorative	11	0.455	-0.691	0.827
exploiting	/not exploiting	12	-0.762	-0.283	0.813
identify with rape v	/not identify with rape v	13	0.800	0.499	0.943
more tender	/less tender	14	0.748	-0.311	0.810
alienated	/confident	15	0.474	0.743	0.881
controlling	/laissez faire	16	-0.464	-0.157	0.489
%VARIANCE			33.204	24.794	57.999

Transformation matrix

	1	2
1	0.892	0.453
2	-0.453	0.892

Rotated factor scores

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A mother	1	1.298	-0.957	1.613
B father	2	0.150	0.275	0.314
C frank	3	0.082	0.674	0.679
D kevin	4	-0.478	-0.519	0.705
E anna	5	-0.609	0.548	0.819
F stella	6	-0.012	-1.282	1.282
G carol	7	-0.268	0.369	0.456
H perfect man	8	-1.274	0.536	1.382
I perfect woman	9	-1.172	0.720	1.376
J men	10	1.247	0.459	1.329
K platonic man	11	-0.723	0.768	1.055
L jasper	12	1.758	1.620	2.390
M andrew	13	1.663	0.008	1.663
N rapists	14	1.976	0.909	2.175
O rape victims	15	-0.713	-0.022	0.714
P current self	16	-0.795	-0.391	0.886
Q self before r1	17	-0.587	0.549	0.804
R self before r2	18	-0.818	-0.234	0.850
S self after r1	19	0.250	-2.362	2.375
T self after r2	20	0.250	-2.362	2.375
U ideal self	21	-1.225	0.692	1.407

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r4 Time: 09:49:49
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                  NEGATIVE                              POSITIVE
                    1                 2                 3                 4                 5
NEGATIVE POLE                                           .                                   POSITIVE POLE
                                                        .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                             .                 !                 COMPONENT 1
                                                        .                 !
not identify with rape v                                 ***************                    identify with rape v
would rape                                               ++++++++++++++                     wouldn't rape
exploiting              ####################################                                not exploiting
not so hurt                                             .                 !                 deeply hurt
                                                        .                 !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                             .         !                         COMPONENT 2
                                                        .         !
not explorative                                          *                                  explorative
less tender                                              ++++++++++++++++++                 more tender
sexually abused                                         #                                   not sexually abused
felt disgusted                                          .         !                         not so disgusted
                                                        .         !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                        0      20        40        60        80      100
                                                             ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r4 Time: 09:49:49
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT **********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

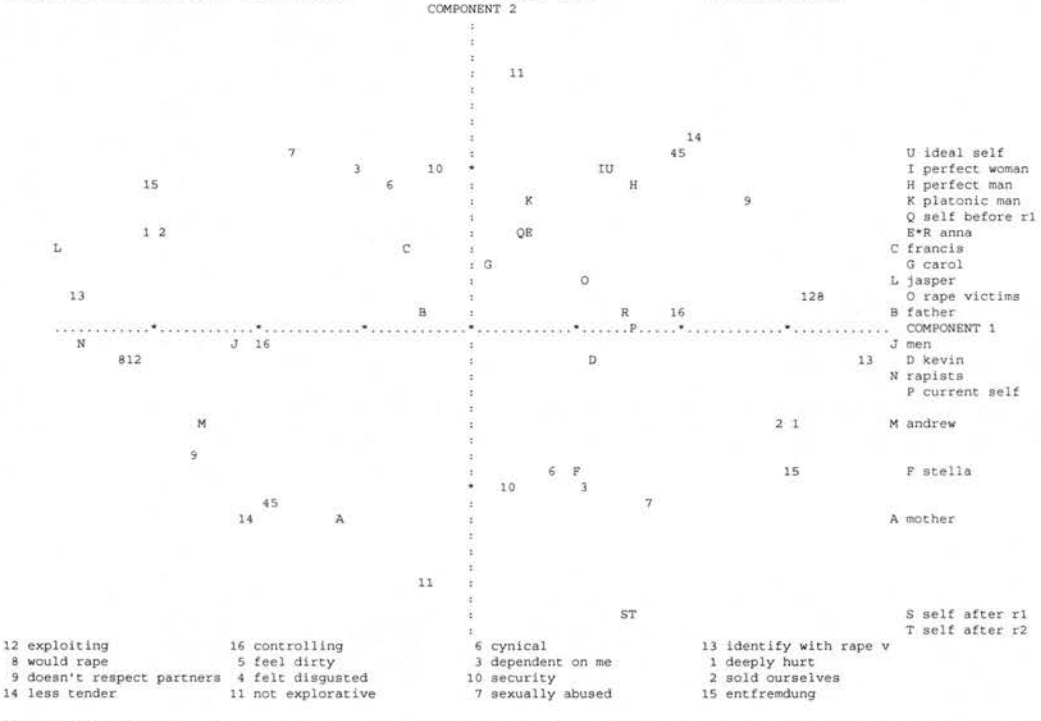
Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 21  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

15 confident
2 using
1 not so hurt
13 not identify with rape v

7 not sexually abused
10 insecurity
3 not dependent on me
6 enthusiastic

11 explorative
4 not so disgusted
5 pure
16 laissez faire

14 more tender
9 respects partners
8 wouldn't rape
12 not exploiting



12 exploiting
8 would rape
9 doesn't respect partners
14 less tender

16 controlling
5 feel dirty
4 felt disgusted
11 not explorative

6 cynical
3 dependent on me
10 security
7 sexually abused

13 identify with rape v
1 deeply hurt
2 sold ourselves
15 entfremdung

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r4 Time: 09:49:53
GRID TITLE: rape
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # rapists
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                  NEGATIVE                              POSITIVE
                      1                 2                 3                 4                 5
NEGATIVE POLE                                             .                                     POSITIVE POLE
                                                          .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                               .         !                           COMPONENT 1
                                                          .         !
would rape                                                ***********                           wouldn't rape
not identify with rape v                                  ++++++++++++++++++++                  identify with rape v
doesn't respect partners      ################################                                  respects partners
exploiting                                                .         !                           not exploiting
                                                          .         !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                               .         !                           COMPONENT 2
                                                          .         !
entfremdung                                       *******                                       confident
sexually abused                                           ++++++++++++                          not sexually abused
not explorative                                           ##############                        explorative
deeply hurt                                               .         !                           not so hurt
                                                          .         !
.........................................................................................................................
                                                  0      20        40        60        80      100
                                                             ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: r4 Time: 09:49:53
GRID TITLE: rape
PLOT **********

ANALYSIS based on rotated results

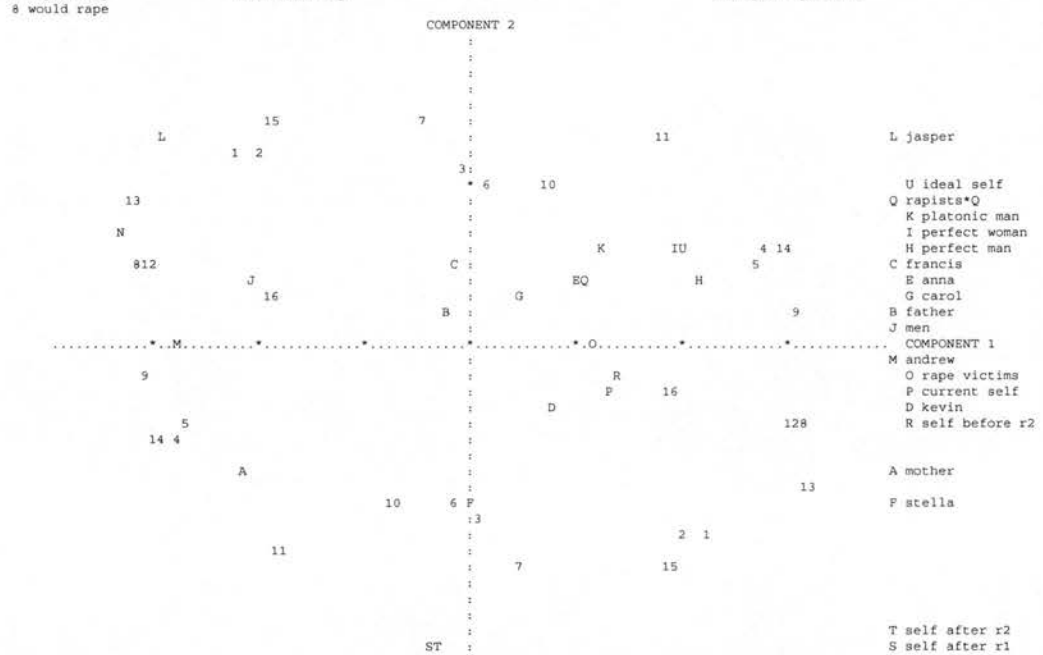
Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 21 ideal self picked as an IDEAL

 1 not so hurt
 2 using
13 not identify with rape v
12 exploiting
 8 would rape

15 confident
 7 not sexually abused
 3 not dependent on me
16 controlling

11 explorative
 6 enthusiastic
10 insecurity

14 more tender
 4 not so disgusted
 5 pure
 9 respects partners



 9 doesn't respect partners
 5 feel dirty
 4 felt disgusted
14 less tender

10 security
 6 cynical
11 not explorative

16 laissez faire
 3 dependent on me
 7 sexually abused
15 entfremdung

 8 wouldn't rape
12 not exploiting
13 identify with rape v
 2 sold ourselves
 1 deeply hurt

****

F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b1 Time: 01-17-1994 16:07:03
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: burglary
PCA analysis **********

Data transformation: 1): Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components = 2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN(2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX = 2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
supportive	/being supported	1	2	3.54	6	1.45	10.66
dependent	/independent	2	3	4.38	6	1.21	7.47
inexperienced	/experienced	3	3	4.69	7	1.49	11.26
cautious	/more cautious	4	3	5.85	7	0.95	4.58
not angry	/angry	5	2	4.92	7	1.27	8.19
able to give advice	/unable to give advice	6	2	3.00	4	0.78	3.13
confident	/not so confident	7	2	4.23	6	1.67	14.21
nervous	/not so nervous	8	2	3.54	6	1.55	12.22
have conscience	/no conscience	9	2	2.54	6	1.08	5.96
unprepared	/prepared	10	3	5.15	6	1.23	7.71
caring	/uncaring	11	2	2.62	6	1.08	5.90
closer	/less close	12	2	2.77	7	1.31	8.73
		Total mean		3.94		Mean var.	1.64

Transformed matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	1.70	1.70	-0.37	-1.06	-0.37	-1.06	-0.37	1.01	-1.06	-1.06	-0.37	0.32	1.01
2	0.51	-1.14	-1.14	1.33	-1.14	0.51	0.51	-0.32	1.33	1.33	-1.14	0.51	-1.14
3	0.88	0.21	-1.14	0.21	-1.14	-1.14	-1.14	1.55	0.88	1.55	-1.14	0.21	0.21
4	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	-0.89	0.16	1.22	-3.00	1.22	0.16	0.16	0.16
5	0.85	0.85	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	1.64	-0.73	-1.52	0.06	-2.30	0.85
6	-1.27	1.27	0.00	-1.27	0.00	1.27	1.27	1.27	0.00	-1.27	0.00	-1.27	0.00
7	1.06	1.06	-0.74	-1.33	-0.74	0.46	0.46	1.06	-1.33	-1.33	1.06	-0.74	1.06
8	-0.99	-0.99	0.30	1.59	0.30	-0.35	-0.35	-0.99	1.59	1.59	-0.99	0.30	-0.99
9	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	0.43	-0.50	-0.50	-0.50	0.43	3.20	0.43
10	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69	-1.75	-0.12	0.69	-1.75	0.69	-1.75	0.69	-0.12
11	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57	0.36	0.36	-0.57	-0.57	-0.57	0.36	3.14	0.36
12	-0.59	-0.59	-0.59	-0.59	-0.59	0.18	0.18	-0.59	0.18	-0.59	0.18	3.23	0.18

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1.00	118.0	73.1	70.1	58.3	82.2	44.6	138.3	83.7	64.6	88.0	90.9
2	-0.47	1.00	63.3	106.5	118.8	113.9	122.5	48.1	89.0	95.2	86.9	81.2
3	0.29	0.45	1.00	82.5	90.7	109.2	95.5	78.2	95.1	71.3	99.8	94.4
4	0.34	-0.28	0.13	1.00	79.5	95.9	74.6	108.1	85.4	47.2	89.0	98.8
5	0.53	-0.48	-0.01	0.18	1.00	57.2	45.8	130.1	125.9	86.7	125.8	131.2
6	0.14	-0.40	-0.33	-0.10	0.54	1.00	58.1	120.4	105.8	108.6	100.5	103.0
7	0.71	-0.54	-0.10	0.27	0.70	0.53	1.00	165.6	91.5	97.4	89.6	96.7
8	-0.75	0.67	0.21	-0.31	-0.64	-0.51	-0.97	1.00	94.7	87.9	96.1	88.7
9	0.11	0.02	-0.09	0.08	-0.59	-0.27	-0.03	-0.08	1.00	86.9	14.2	17.1
10	0.43	-0.09	0.32	0.68	0.06	-0.32	-0.13	0.04	0.05	1.00	94.1	97.0
11	0.03	0.05	-0.17	0.02	-0.58	-0.18	0.01	-0.11	0.97	-0.07	1.00	13.3
12	-0.02	0.15	-0.08	-0.15	-0.66	-0.22	-0.12	0.02	0.96	-0.12	0.97	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.415 Mean absolute value +0.312

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2	0.61											
3	0.84	0.71										
4	0.92	1.13	0.68									
5	0.84	0.71	0.00	0.68								
6	1.04	0.92	0.76	0.97	0.76							
7	0.86	0.71	0.59	0.86	0.59	0.44						
8	0.62	0.43	0.88	1.10	0.88	1.02	0.81					
9	1.26	1.35	1.07	0.86	1.07	0.86	1.05	1.41				
10	1.04	1.26	0.90	0.46	0.90	1.17	1.05	1.17	1.02			
11	0.91	0.80	0.71	1.09	0.71	0.54	0.55	0.95	1.17	1.24		
12	1.51	1.62	1.44	1.42	1.44	1.46	1.27	1.68	1.54	1.39	1.36	
13	0.56	0.44	0.68	1.04	0.68	0.80	0.60	0.58	1.24	1.18	0.52	1.32

Table of principal components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
supportive	/being supported	1	0.640	0.460	0.788	1.000	62.095
dependent	/independent	2	-0.672	-0.352	0.759	1.000	57.537
inexperienced	/experienced	3	-0.098	-0.205	0.227	1.000	5.152
cautious	/more cautious	4	0.323	0.232	0.398	1.000	15.864
not angry	/angry	5	0.928	-0.184	0.946	1.000	89.499
able to give advice	/unable to give advice	6	0.606	0.037	0.607	1.000	36.818
confident	/not so confident	7	0.818	0.439	0.928	1.000	86.139
nervous	/not so nervous	8	-0.801	-0.558	0.976	1.000	95.180
have conscience	/no conscience	9	-0.479	0.865	0.989	1.000	97.840
unprepared	/prepared	10	0.099	0.054	0.112	1.000	1.257
caring	/uncaring	11	-0.480	0.863	0.988	1.000	97.560
closer	/less close	12	-0.587	0.783	0.978	1.000	95.739
%VARIANCE			36.055	25.668	61.723		

Factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A current self	1	0.766	-0.023	0.766	*	0.460	0.816	25.929
B wife	2	1.394	0.241	1.415	*	0.846	0.843	84.979
C daughter 2	3	0.193	-0.437	0.478	*	0.250	0.399	15.648
D son	4	-0.855	-1.247	1.511	*	0.814	0.858	77.142
E daughter 1	5	0.193	-0.437	0.478	*	0.250	0.399	15.648
F wife's sister	6	0.017	-0.094	0.095	*	0.049	0.742	0.317
G neighbour	7	0.133	0.377	0.400	*	0.207	0.336	12.756
H self after	8	1.381	-0.013	1.381	*	0.829	1.067	64.454
I self before	9	-1.256	-1.316	1.819	*	1.007	1.766	57.384
J ideal self	10	-1.145	-1.162	1.631	*	0.905	1.368	59.872
K friends	11	0.407	0.724	0.830	*	0.441	0.690	28.150
L burglars	12	-2.016	2.564	3.262	*	1.776	3.250	97.012
M burglary victims	13	0.786	0.822	1.138	*	0.630	0.465	85.313

Variance of transformed data= 1 Variance of derived data= .6172324
Correlation transformed, derived .7856413

Residual matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	1.22	0.70	-0.29	0.06	-0.29	-1.03	-0.63	0.13	0.35	0.20	-0.97	0.43	0.13
2	1.01	-0.12	-1.17	0.32	-1.17	0.49	0.73	0.61	0.03	0.16	-0.62	0.05	-0.33
3	0.95	0.39	-1.21	-0.13	-1.21	-1.16	-1.05	1.68	0.49	1.20	-0.95	0.53	0.45
4	-0.08	-0.34	0.20	0.73	0.20	-0.88	0.03	0.77	-2.29	1.86	-0.14	0.22	-0.28
5	0.13	-0.40	-0.20	0.62	-0.20	0.03	0.01	0.35	0.20	-0.67	-0.18	0.04	0.27
6	-1.74	0.42	-0.10	-0.71	-0.10	1.27	1.18	0.44	0.81	-0.54	-0.27	-0.15	-0.51
7	0.44	-0.19	-0.70	-0.09	-0.70	0.49	0.19	-0.06	0.27	0.11	0.41	-0.21	0.05
8	-0.39	0.26	0.21	0.21	0.21	-0.39	-0.03	0.11	-0.15	0.02	-0.26	0.11	0.10
9	-0.11	-0.04	-0.03	0.17	-0.03	-0.41	0.16	0.18	0.04	-0.04	-0.01	0.01	0.09
10	0.61	0.54	0.69	0.84	0.69	-1.75	-0.16	0.55	-1.56	0.86	-1.83	0.75	-0.25
11	-0.18	-0.11	-0.10	0.09	-0.10	0.45	0.10	0.10	-0.04	-0.12	-0.07	-0.04	0.03
12	-0.12	0.04	-0.13	-0.11	-0.13	0.26	-0.04	0.23	0.47	-0.35	-0.15	0.04	-0.01

Table of VARIMAX rotated components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
supportive	/being supported	1	0.787	0.044	0.788
dependent	/independent	2	-0.756	0.065	0.759
inexperienced	/experienced	3	-0.193	-0.120	0.227
cautious	/more cautious	4	0.398	0.022	0.398
not angry	/angry	5	0.683	-0.654	0.946
able to give advice	/unable to give advice	6	0.531	-0.294	0.607
confident	/not so confident	7	0.926	-0.069	0.928
nervous	/not so nervous	8	-0.975	-0.040	0.976
have conscience	/no conscience	9	0.061	0.987	0.989
unprepared	/prepared	10	0.112	-0.008	0.112
caring	/uncaring	11	0.059	0.986	0.988
closer	/less close	12	-0.074	0.976	0.978
%VARIANCE			33.054	28.670	61.724

Transformation matrix
****

	1	2
1	0.843	-0.538
2	0.538	0.843

Rotated factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A current self	1	0.634	-0.431	0.766
B wife	2	1.305	-0.546	1.415
C daughter 2	3	-0.072	-0.472	0.478
D son	4	-1.391	-0.592	1.511
E daughter 1	5	-0.072	-0.472	0.478
F wife's sister	6	-0.036	-0.088	0.095
G neighbour	7	0.315	0.246	0.400
H self after	8	1.158	-0.754	1.381
I self before	9	-1.766	-0.434	1.819
J ideal self	10	-1.590	-0.365	1.631
K friends	11	0.732	0.392	0.830
L burglars	12	-0.322	3.246	3.262
M burglary victims	13	1.105	0.271	1.138

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b1 Time: 16:07:52
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET  ********************************************************

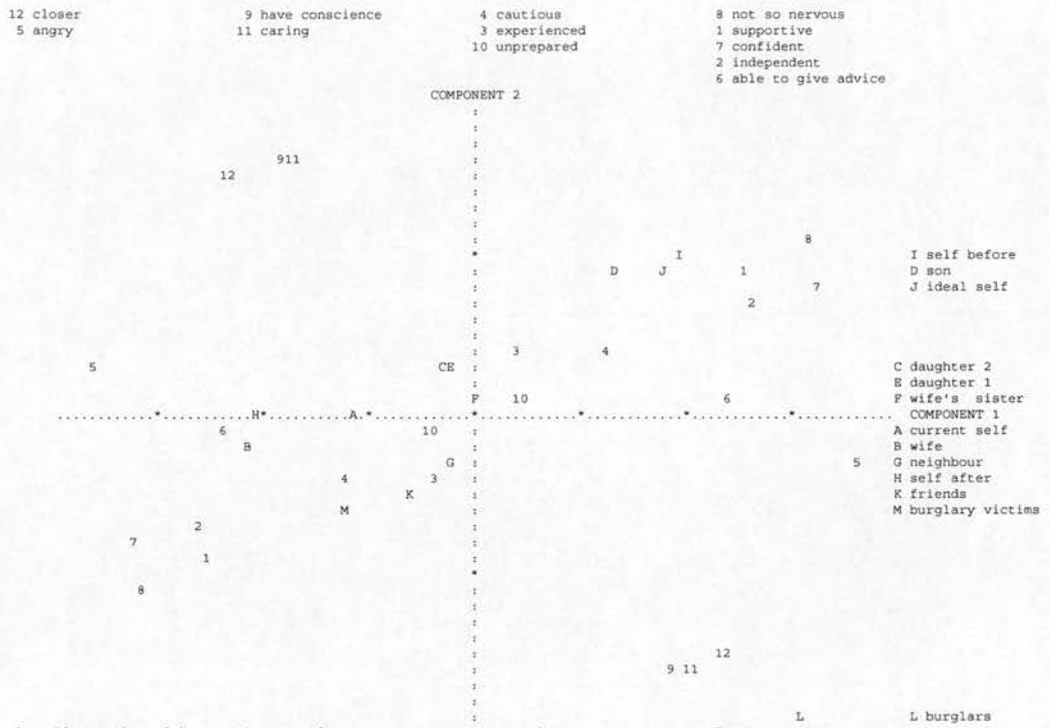
ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglars
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                        1               2               3               4               5
NEGATIVE POLE                                           .                               POSITIVE POLE
                                                        .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                             .               !               COMPONENT 1
                                                        .               !
angry                                       ***********                                 not angry
not so confident                                        ++++++++++++++++                confident
nervous                                                 ################################ not so nervous
dependent                                               .               !               independent
                                                        .               !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                             .           !                   COMPONENT 2
                                                        .           !
no conscience                                           *                               have conscience
uncaring                                                ++++++++++++++++                caring
less close      ########################################                                closer
nervous                                                 .           !                   not so nervous
                                                        .           !
.........................................................................................................................
                                                        0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                                ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b1 Time: 16:07:52
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

Axis 1 has been reflected
Axis 2 has been reflected
ELEMENT 10  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```



```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b1 Time: 16:07:57
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

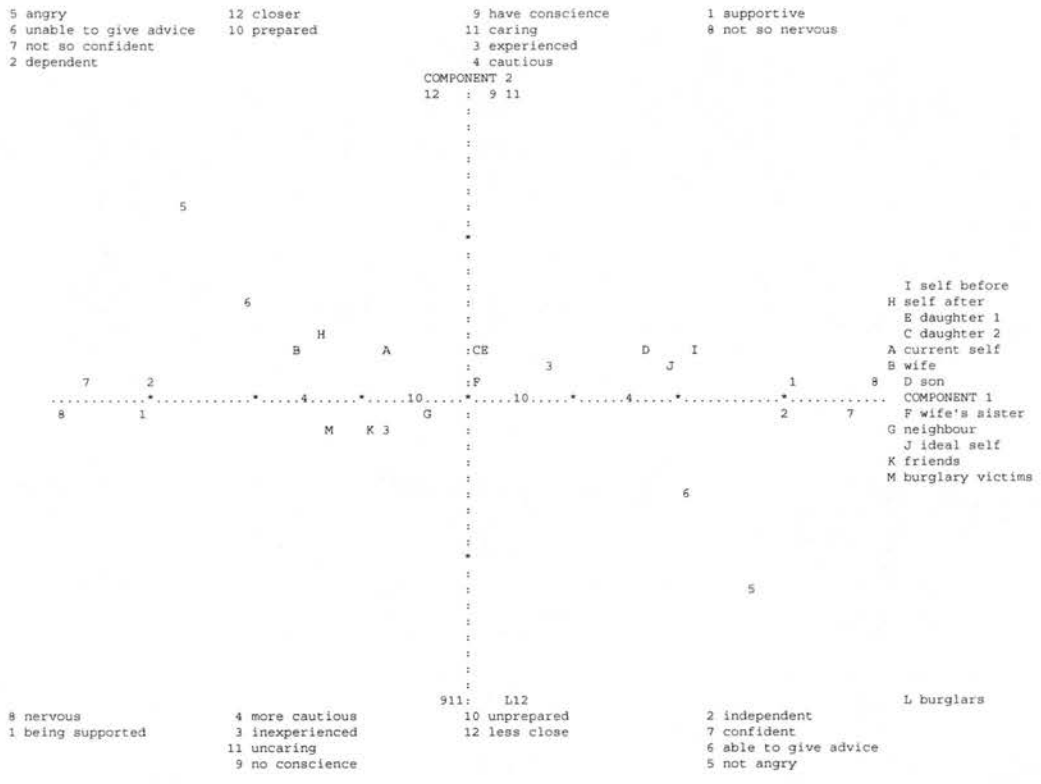

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglars
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                              POSITIVE
                    1                   2                   3                   4                   5
NEGATIVE POLE                                               .                                       POSITIVE POLE
                                                            .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                                 .           !                           COMPONENT 1
                                                            .           !
nervous                                             ********                                        not so nervous
not so confident                                            ++++++++++++++++++++                    confident
being supported                                             ####                                    supportive
dependent                                                   .           !                           independent
                                                            .           !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                                 .           !                           COMPONENT 2
                                                            .           !
no conscience                                               *****                                   have conscience
uncaring                                                    ++++                                    caring
less close          ########################################                                        closer
not angry                                                   .           !                           angry
                                                            .           !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                            0      20      40      60      80      100
                                                                 ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b1 Time: 16:07:57
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT  ********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

Axis 1 has been reflected
Axis 2 has been reflected
ELEMENT 10  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```



8 nervous
1 being supported

4 more cautious
3 inexperienced
11 uncaring
9 no conscience

10 unprepared
12 less close

2 independent
7 confident
6 able to give advice
5 not angry

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b2 Time: 01-17-1994  15:52:37
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: burglary
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices
```

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable

****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
calm	/not calm	1	1	3.73	7	2.30	8.99
not been burgled	/been burgled	2	2	3.09	7	1.83	5.70
angry	/not so angry	3	1	5.73	7	2.26	8.68
impatient	/patient	4	1	3.82	7	2.33	9.21
helps others	/helps self	5	1	3.36	7	2.06	7.19
outward looking	/inward looking	6	1	3.27	7	2.30	8.99
supportive	/evil	7	1	2.00	7	1.86	5.87
not see bad	/se bad	8	1	3.64	7	2.06	7.19
friendly	/hateful	9	1	2.64	7	2.01	6.88
suspicious	/not so suspicious	10	1	3.27	7	2.05	7.13
feeling of privacy invaded	/feeling of freedom	11	1	4.27	7	2.05	7.13
secure	/insecure	12	1	2.73	7	2.18	8.06
in control	/not in control	13	1	2.27	7	2.30	8.99
		Total mean		3.37		Mean var.	4.53

Transformed matrix

****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	0.55	0.12	1.42	-1.19	-0.32	-0.75	-0.75	-0.75	-1.19	1.42	1.42
2	1.04	-0.60	2.13	-0.60	-0.60	-0.60	-0.60	-0.60	-0.60	-0.60	1.59
3	0.12	0.12	-2.09	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	-2.09
4	-0.78	-0.78	-1.21	0.94	0.08	0.94	0.94	0.94	1.37	-1.21	-1.21
5	0.31	0.31	1.77	-1.15	-0.18	-0.66	-1.15	-0.18	-1.15	1.77	0.31
6	-0.55	-0.55	1.62	-0.99	-0.55	-0.55	-0.55	-0.55	-0.55	1.62	1.62
7	-0.54	-0.54	0.54	-0.54	-0.54	-0.54	-0.54	-0.54	-0.54	2.69	1.08
8	0.66	0.18	1.64	-1.28	-0.31	-0.80	-0.31	-0.80	-1.28	0.66	1.64
9	-0.32	-0.32	0.68	-0.81	-0.32	-0.32	-0.81	-0.81	-0.81	2.17	1.67
10	-1.11	-0.13	-1.11	1.82	0.84	-0.13	0.35	0.35	-1.11	1.33	-1.11
11	-0.13	0.35	-1.60	1.33	0.35	0.84	-0.13	0.35	-1.11	1.33	-1.60
12	-0.33	-0.79	1.96	-0.79	-0.33	-0.79	-0.33	-0.33	0.58	-0.79	1.96
13	-0.55	-0.55	2.06	-0.55	-0.55	-0.55	-0.55	-0.55	0.32	-0.55	2.06

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part

****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	1.00	44.1	135.6	163.7	25.2	27.0	40.0	16.5	28.1	108.2	110.5	59.2	54.5
2	0.72	1.00	156.4	131.1	56.9	50.1	74.5	34.0	63.1	131.3	137.2	34.3	33.3
3	-0.71	-0.92	1.00	49.7	121.7	137.5	110.3	145.4	122.8	54.2	40.4	154.4	161.4
4	-0.96	-0.66	0.65	1.00	151.4	139.0	130.6	157.6	142.2	75.0	75.0	112.7	117.8
5	0.90	0.55	-0.53	-0.88	1.00	36.4	42.5	36.4	38.9	98.8	98.8	70.9	66.3
6	0.89	0.64	-0.74	-0.75	0.81	1.00	29.3	34.1	22.3	104.3	114.9	49.5	43.5
7	0.77	0.27	-0.35	-0.65	0.74	0.87	1.00	53.5	18.6	83.1	90.0	75.7	70.1
8	0.96	0.83	-0.82	-0.92	0.80	0.83	0.59	1.00	40.7	116.8	121.0	51.2	47.6
9	0.88	0.45	-0.54	-0.79	0.78	0.92	0.95	0.76	1.00	93.7	98.8	66.9	60.5
10	-0.31	-0.66	0.59	0.26	-0.15	-0.25	0.12	-0.45	-0.06	1.00	32.0	132.5	127.9
11	-0.35	-0.73	0.76	0.26	-0.15	-0.42	-0.00	-0.52	-0.15	0.85	1.00	157.0	147.7
12	0.51	0.83	-0.90	-0.39	0.33	0.65	0.25	0.63	0.39	-0.68	-0.92	1.00	12.4
13	0.58	0.84	-0.95	-0.47	0.40	0.73	0.34	0.67	0.49	-0.61	-0.85	0.98	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.667 Mean absolute value +0.618

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)

****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2	0.40									
3	1.04	1.25								
4	0.96	0.71	1.72							
5	0.58	0.31	1.37	0.46						
6	0.67	0.46	1.49	0.42	0.31					
7	0.67	0.50	1.46	0.45	0.30	0.27				
8	0.66	0.45	1.44	0.41	0.24	0.20	0.22			
9	0.82	0.77	1.43	0.78	0.65	0.55	0.46	0.51		
10	1.12	1.00	1.34	1.32	1.06	1.20	1.27	1.20	1.50	
11	1.07	1.24	0.36	1.68	1.34	1.46	1.41	1.43	1.38	1.28

Table of principal components

****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
calm	/not calm	1	0.925	0.334	0.983	1.000	96.610
not been burgled	/been burgled	2	0.867	-0.337	0.930	1.000	86.577
angry	/not so angry	3	-0.904	0.318	0.958	1.000	91.863
impatient	/patient	4	-0.840	-0.363	0.915	1.000	83.669
helps others	/helps self	5	0.780	0.475	0.914	1.000	83.465
outward looking	/inward looking	6	0.916	0.274	0.956	1.000	91.393
supportive	/evil	7	0.650	0.652	0.921	1.000	84.744
not see bad	/se bad	8	0.945	0.111	0.951	1.000	90.442
friendly	/hateful	9	0.795	0.527	0.954	1.000	90.957
suspicious	/not so suspicious	10	-0.523	0.677	0.856	1.000	73.214
feeling of privacy invaded	/feeling of freedom	11	-0.644	0.720	0.966	1.000	93.283
secure	/insecure	12	0.796	-0.533	0.958	1.000	91.720
in control	/not in control	13	0.844	-0.427	0.946	1.000	89.505
%VARIANCE			65.830	22.435	88.265		

Factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A current self	1	0.193	-0.249	0.315	*	0.196	0.378	10.188
B self before	2	-0.212	0.303	0.370	*	0.224	0.223	22.581
C self after	3	1.902	-0.727	2.036	*	1.581	2.573	97.153
D ideal self	4	-1.148	0.258	1.177	*	0.939	1.066	82.770
E brother	5	-0.505	0.240	0.559	*	0.425	0.220	82.399
F neighbour	6	-0.754	-0.037	0.755	*	0.612	0.427	87.866
G margo	7	-0.705	-0.399	0.810	*	0.602	0.411	88.152
H kathy	8	-0.707	-0.139	0.720	*	0.577	0.362	91.987
I marie	9	-0.567	-1.415	1.524	*	0.813	0.851	77.609
J burglar	10	0.656	2.766	2.843	*	1.414	2.059	97.106
K burglary victim	11	1.847	-0.602	1.942	*	1.525	2.430	95.734

Variance of transformed data= .9999999 Variance of derived data= .8826485
Correlation transformed, derived .939494

Residual matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	0.46	0.21	-0.09	-0.21	0.07	-0.04	0.03	-0.05	-0.19	-0.11	-0.08
2	0.79	-0.31	0.24	0.49	-0.08	0.05	-0.12	-0.03	-0.58	-0.23	-0.22
3	0.37	-0.17	-0.14	-0.56	0.03	-0.11	0.05	-0.03	0.50	0.28	-0.23
4	-0.71	-0.85	0.12	0.07	-0.26	0.29	0.20	0.29	0.38	0.34	0.12
5	0.28	0.33	0.63	-0.38	0.10	-0.06	-0.41	0.44	-0.03	-0.06	-0.85
6	-0.66	-0.44	0.08	-0.01	-0.16	0.15	0.20	0.13	0.35	0.26	0.09
7	-0.50	-0.60	-0.22	0.04	-0.37	-0.02	0.18	0.01	0.75	0.46	0.27
8	0.51	0.34	-0.08	-0.23	0.14	-0.08	0.40	-0.11	-0.59	-0.26	-0.04
9	-0.34	-0.31	-0.45	-0.04	-0.04	0.30	-0.04	-0.18	0.38	0.19	0.52
10	-0.84	-0.45	0.38	1.04	0.42	-0.50	0.26	0.08	-0.45	-0.20	0.26
11	0.17	0.00	0.15	0.41	-0.14	0.38	-0.30	-0.00	-0.46	-0.24	0.03
12	-0.62	-0.46	0.06	0.26	0.20	-0.21	0.01	0.15	0.28	0.16	0.17
13	-0.82	-0.24	0.14	0.53	-0.02	0.07	-0.13	-0.02	0.19	0.07	0.24

Table of VARIMAX rotated components
****

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
calm	/not calm	1	0.919	-0.350	0.983
not been burgled	/been burgled	2	0.438	-0.821	0.930
angry	/not so angry	3	-0.478	0.831	0.958
impatient	/patient	4	-0.873	0.272	0.915
helps others	/helps self	5	0.901	-0.148	0.914
outward looking	/inward looking	6	0.873	-0.390	0.956
supportive	/evil	7	0.918	0.071	0.921
not see bad	/se bad	8	0.788	-0.532	0.951
friendly	/hateful	9	0.946	-0.119	0.954
suspicious	/not so suspicious	10	0.045	0.854	0.856
feeling of privacy invaded	/feeling of freedom	11	-0.019	0.966	0.966
secure	/insecure	12	0.256	-0.923	0.958
in control	/not in control	13	0.362	-0.874	0.946
%VARIANCE			47.376	40.890	88.266

Transformation matrix
****

	1	2
1	0.758	-0.652
2	0.652	0.758

Rotated factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A current self	1	-0.016	-0.315	0.315
B self before	2	0.037	0.368	0.370
C self after	3	0.968	-1.791	2.036
D ideal self	4	-0.702	0.945	1.177
E brother	5	-0.227	0.511	0.559
F neighbour	6	-0.596	0.464	0.755
G margo	7	-0.794	0.157	0.810
H kathy	8	-0.626	0.356	0.720
I marie	9	-1.353	-0.703	1.524
J burglar	10	2.301	1.669	2.843
K burglary victim	11	1.008	-1.660	1.942

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b2 Time: 15:53:56
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET ******************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

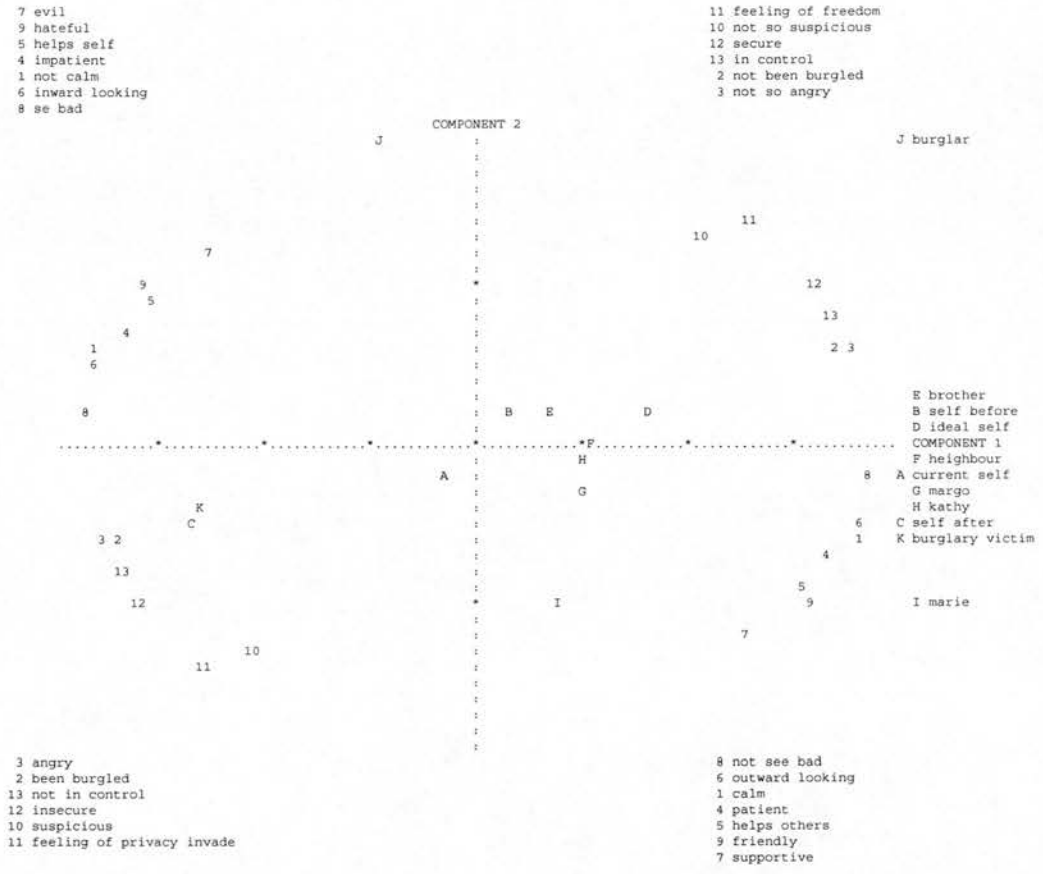

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglar
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                        Position of ELEMENTS
                                NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                    1               2               3               4               5
NEGATIVE POLE                                       .                               POSITIVE POLE
                                                    .
.............................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                         .                       !       COMPONENT 1
                                                    .                       !
se bad                                        ***                                   not see bad
not calm                                            ++++++++++++++++                  calm
inward looking                                ######### .                           outward looking
angry                                               .                       !       not so angry
                                                    .                       !
.............................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                         .       !                       COMPONENT 2
                                                    .       !
feeling of privacy invaded                    ****                                  feeling of freedom
suspicious                                          ++++                            not so suspicious
supportive                                          ######################################## evil
insecure                                            .       !                       secure
                                                    .       !
.............................................................................................................

                                                    0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                        ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b2 Time: 15:53:56
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 4  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```



```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b2 Time: 15:54:02
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

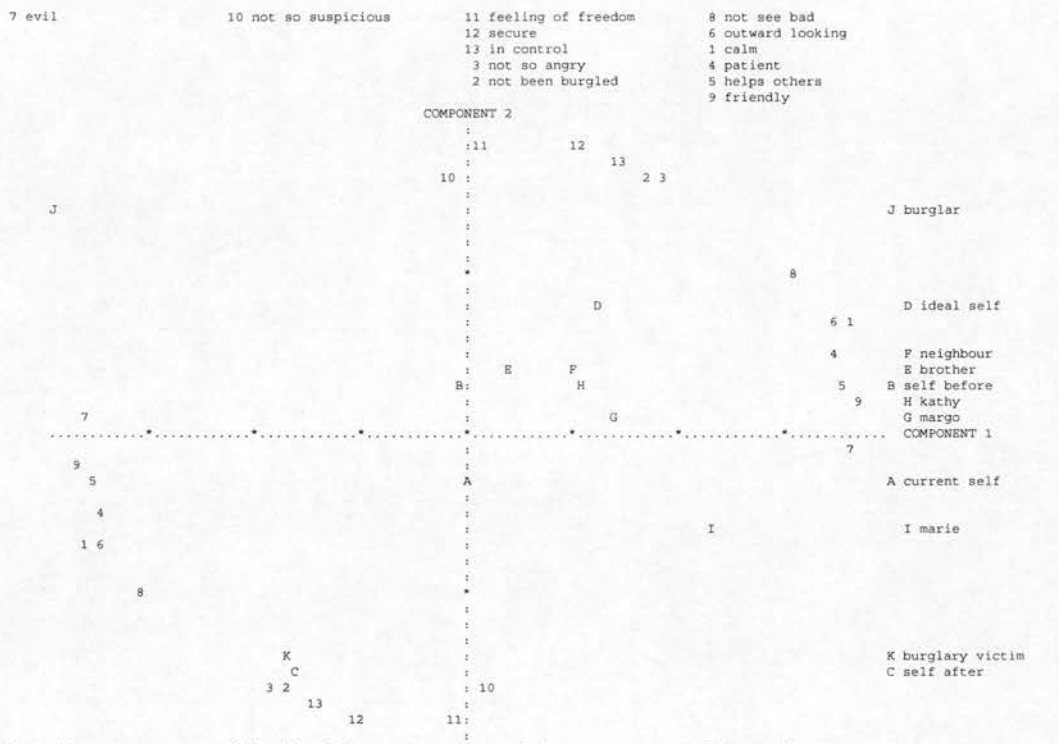

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglar
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                  NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                    1                 2                 3                 4                 5
NEGATIVE POLE                                           .                                   POSITIVE POLE
                                                        .
...................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                             .                 !                 COMPONENT 1
                                                        .                 !
hateful                                                 *                                   friendly
not calm                                                ++++++++++++                        calm
evil                ########################################                                supportive
helps self                                              .                 !                 helps others
                                                        .                 !
...................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                             .                 !                 COMPONENT 2
                                                        .                 !
feeling of privacy invaded                    *****                                         feeling of freedom
insecure                                                ++++++++++++++++                    secure
not in control                                          ##############################      in control
suspicious                                              .                 !                 not so suspicious
                                                        .                 !
...................................................................................................................

                                                        0      20      40      60      80      100
                                                             ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b2 Time: 15:54:02
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT **********

ANALYSIS based on rotated results

Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 4 ideal self picked as an IDEAL



```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b3 Time: 01-17-1994  16:50:33
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: burglary
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices
```

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
been burgled	/hasn't been burgled	1	1	3.53	7	2.65	16.85
outward going	/inward going	2	1	3.20	6	1.47	5.16
sad	/angry	3	1	3.47	6	1.36	4.42
wouldn't steal	/would steal	4	1	1.60	7	1.62	6.31
helpful	/unhelpful	5	1	2.13	7	1.71	6.97
accepting	/less accepting	6	1	3.53	6	1.54	5.69
bossy	/less bossy	7	1	3.13	5	1.41	4.74
sympathetic	/less sympathetic	8	1	1.67	7	1.58	5.95
understanding	/upset	9	1	2.53	7	2.03	9.84
selfish	/unselfish	10	1	5.07	7	1.65	6.52
self conscious	/confident	11	3	5.60	7	1.20	3.44
irresponsible	/responsible	12	1	5.33	7	1.85	8.18
quiet	/rowdy	13	2	4.33	7	1.49	5.31
more self esteem	/less self esteem	14	1	2.93	5	1.29	3.97
nervous	/less nervous	15	1	4.47	7	1.67	6.65
		Total mean		3.50		Mean var.	2.79

Transformed matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1	-0.95	-0.20	-0.95	1.31	-0.95	-0.95	1.31	-0.95	1.31	0.18	1.31	1.31	-0.95	0.18	-0.95
2	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14	-1.50	1.22	1.91	-0.82	-1.50	0.54	-0.14	0.54	-0.14	-1.50	1.22	0.54
3	0.39	0.39	-1.81	0.39	-0.34	-0.34	1.86	1.86	0.39	-0.34	-0.34	-0.34	-0.34	0.39	-1.81
4	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	-0.37	3.32	1.48
5	-0.66	-0.66	-0.66	-0.66	-0.66	0.51	-0.66	-0.66	1.09	-0.66	-0.66	0.51	-0.08	2.85	1.09
6	-0.99	-0.99	1.60	-1.64	0.30	0.30	-0.99	-0.99	0.95	-0.99	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.95	1.60
7	-0.80	-0.80	1.33	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62	-0.80	-0.80	1.33	1.33	-0.80	-1.52	-1.52	0.62
8	-0.42	-0.42	-0.42	-0.42	-0.42	0.85	-0.42	-0.42	0.85	-0.42	-0.42	-0.42	-0.42	3.38	-0.42
9	0.23	0.23	2.20	-0.76	-0.76	-0.76	-0.76	-0.76	0.23	-0.76	-0.76	-0.76	0.23	0.72	2.20
10	0.56	-0.04	0.56	1.17	1.17	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04	-0.65	1.17	1.17	-0.65	-1.25	-2.46	-0.65
11	-0.50	-0.50	-2.17	1.17	0.33	-1.33	0.33	1.17	-0.50	0.33	0.33	0.33	1.17	1.17	-1.33
12	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.90	0.90	-1.26	-0.18	0.90	-0.72	0.90	0.90	0.90	-0.72	-2.34	-1.26
13	0.45	0.45	1.12	-0.22	-1.57	-1.57	-0.22	0.45	0.45	-1.57	-0.89	0.45	1.12	1.79	-0.22
14	0.05	0.05	1.60	-1.50	-0.72	0.83	-0.72	-1.50	0.83	-0.72	-0.72	-0.72	0.83	0.83	1.60
15	1.52	1.52	-0.88	1.52	0.32	-0.28	-0.28	0.92	-0.28	0.32	-0.88	-0.28	-0.28	-2.08	-0.88

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	1.00	97.5	71.4	94.3	85.8	102.5	85.0	85.7	114.3	87.0	70.2	79.6	91.6	114.7	95.0
2	-0.13	1.00	112.4	68.4	60.4	57.3	79.6	58.8	83.1	96.6	116.5	116.2	109.6	64.6	118.2
3	0.32	-0.38	1.00	97.3	98.1	133.7	112.4	84.1	128.5	94.2	52.8	82.9	85.0	129.0	68.0
4	-0.07	0.37	-0.13	1.00	33.3	64.5	107.3	38.7	63.3	133.3	82.9	137.0	65.6	66.4	128.3
5	0.07	0.49	-0.14	0.84	1.00	54.5	116.8	30.9	69.8	146.1	88.5	146.8	66.3	58.7	132.6
6	-0.22	0.54	-0.69	0.43	0.58	1.00	88.4	69.7	47.5	115.6	119.8	122.0	76.0	38.0	142.7
7	0.09	0.18	-0.38	-0.30	-0.45	0.03	1.00	113.6	91.4	42.1	113.7	68.5	133.5	96.0	93.1
8	0.07	0.52	0.10	0.78	0.86	0.35	-0.40	1.00	82.0	133.0	81.9	139.6	69.0	69.5	125.0
9	-0.41	0.12	-0.62	0.45	0.35	0.68	-0.02	0.14	1.00	110.4	126.7	117.1	59.0	34.0	112.9
10	0.05	-0.12	-0.07	-0.69	-0.83	-0.43	0.74	-0.68	-0.35	1.00	98.9	36.9	133.3	119.9	57.0
11	0.34	-0.45	0.60	0.12	0.03	-0.50	-0.40	0.14	-0.60	-0.15	1.00	81.4	83.6	131.6	82.7
12	0.18	-0.44	0.12	-0.73	-0.84	-0.53	0.37	-0.76	-0.46	0.80	0.15	1.00	110.8	135.8	51.7
13	-0.03	-0.33	0.09	0.41	0.40	0.24	-0.69	0.36	0.51	-0.69	0.11	-0.35	1.00	69.0	102.9
14	-0.42	0.43	-0.63	0.40	0.52	0.79	-0.11	0.35	0.83	-0.50	-0.66	-0.72	0.36	1.00	122.9
15	-0.09	-0.47	0.37	-0.62	-0.68	-0.80	-0.05	-0.57	-0.39	0.55	0.13	0.62	-0.22	-0.54	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.470 Mean absolute value +0.404

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
2	0.17													
3	0.99	1.00												
4	0.72	0.68	1.37											
5	0.67	0.71	1.06	0.82										
6	0.86	0.87	1.00	1.21	0.69									
7	0.71	0.64	1.24	0.56	0.80	0.97								
8	0.59	0.60	1.37	0.61	0.85	1.18	0.61							
9	0.80	0.72	0.98	1.06	0.93	0.72	0.78	1.02						
10	0.68	0.68	1.11	0.53	0.41	0.83	0.61	0.78	0.96					
11	0.84	0.81	1.04	0.72	0.50	0.84	0.62	0.94	0.83	0.41				
12	0.70	0.61	1.09	0.74	0.75	0.92	0.62	0.75	0.56	0.72	0.61			
13	0.72	0.69	1.04	1.03	1.00	1.03	0.88	0.78	0.73	1.02	1.04	0.69		
14	1.60	1.56	1.67	1.84	1.70	1.40	1.57	1.68	1.11	1.77	1.66	1.39	1.30	
15	1.09	1.08	0.66	1.47	1.10	0.84	1.28	1.44	0.86	1.19	1.13	1.08	0.98	1.27

Table of principal components

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
been burgled	/hasn't been burgled	1	-0.213	0.372	0.428	1.000	18.340
outward going	/inward going	2	0.514	-0.356	0.626	1.000	39.152
sad	/angry	3	-0.396	0.775	0.871	1.000	75.788
wouldn't steal	/would steal	4	0.796	0.289	0.847	1.000	71.760
helpful	/unhelpful	5	0.884	0.312	0.937	1.000	87.869
accepting	/less accepting	6	0.796	-0.429	0.904	1.000	81.782
bossy	/less bossy	7	-0.335	-0.717	0.792	1.000	62.681
sympathetic	/less sympathetic	8	0.741	0.428	0.856	1.000	73.267
understanding	/upset	9	0.673	-0.427	0.797	1.000	63.449
selfish	/unselfish	10	-0.796	-0.510	0.946	1.000	89.412
self conscious	/confident	11	-0.279	0.820	0.866	1.000	75.004
irresponsible	/responsible	12	-0.882	-0.166	0.898	1.000	80.646
quiet	/rowdy	13	0.499	0.439	0.665	1.000	44.185
more self esteem	/less self esteem	14	0.821	-0.425	0.925	1.000	85.474
nervous	/less nervous	15	-0.770	0.078	0.774	1.000	59.937
%VARIANCE			44.244	23.005	67.250		

Factor scores

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A current self	1	-0.469	-0.016	0.470	*	0.312	0.449	21.721
B self before	2	-0.421	0.154	0.448	*	0.290	0.370	22.674
C self after	3	0.656	-2.077	2.178	*	1.088	1.591	74.323
D ideal self	4	-1.354	0.661	1.506	*	0.955	1.110	82.105
E husband	5	-0.624	-0.762	0.985	*	0.553	0.646	47.325
F son 3	6	0.491	-0.886	1.013	*	0.536	0.893	32.180
G son 2	7	-0.682	0.737	1.004	*	0.575	0.622	53.193
H son 1	8	-0.954	1.213	1.544	*	0.861	1.003	73.899
I husband's sister	9	0.713	0.326	0.784	*	0.500	0.530	47.075
J margo	10	-0.957	-0.486	1.073	*	0.678	0.641	71.739
K margarite	11	-0.595	-0.538	0.802	*	0.473	0.646	34.599
L mary	12	-0.135	0.534	0.551	*	0.271	0.391	18.845
M maisie	13	0.385	0.664	0.768	*	0.409	0.766	21.809
N burglar	14	2.521	1.877	3.143	*	1.903	3.808	95.137
O burglary victims	15	1.425	-1.402	1.999	*	1.162	1.534	88.038

Variance of transformed data= .9999999 Variance of derived data= .6724968
Correlation transformed, derived .8200589

Residual matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1	-1.05	-0.35	-0.04	0.77	-0.80	-0.52	0.89	-1.61	1.34	0.15	1.38	1.08	-1.12	0.01	-0.13
2	0.10	0.14	-1.21	-0.57	1.27	1.34	-0.20	-0.57	0.29	0.18	0.66	0.12	-1.46	0.60	-0.69
3	0.22	0.11	0.06	-0.66	0.00	0.54	1.02	0.54	0.42	-0.35	-0.16	-0.81	-0.71	-0.06	-0.16
4	0.01	-0.08	-0.29	0.52	0.35	-0.50	-0.04	0.04	-1.03	0.53	0.26	-0.42	-0.87	0.77	0.75
5	-0.24	-0.34	-0.60	0.33	0.13	0.35	-0.29	-0.20	0.36	0.33	0.03	0.46	-0.63	0.04	0.27
6	-0.63	-0.59	0.18	-0.28	0.47	-0.47	-0.13	0.29	0.52	-0.44	0.55	0.64	0.28	-0.25	-0.14
7	-0.97	-0.84	0.06	0.64	-0.14	0.14	0.92	-0.25	-0.33	0.66	0.74	-0.47	-0.91	0.68	0.09
8	-0.07	-0.18	-0.02	0.30	0.37	0.86	-0.23	-0.24	0.18	0.49	0.25	-0.55	-0.99	0.71	-0.88
9	0.54	0.58	0.87	0.44	-0.66	-1.46	0.02	0.40	-0.11	-0.32	-0.58	-0.44	0.25	-0.17	0.65
10	0.18	-0.30	0.03	0.43	0.28	-0.10	-0.21	-0.18	0.09	0.16	0.42	-0.48	-0.61	0.50	-0.23
11	-0.62	-0.74	-0.28	0.25	0.78	-0.47	-0.46	-0.09	-0.57	0.46	0.61	-0.14	0.73	0.33	0.21
12	-0.06	0.01	0.59	-0.18	0.22	-0.98	-0.66	0.26	-0.04	-0.02	0.29	0.87	-0.27	0.19	-0.24
13	0.69	0.59	1.70	0.16	-0.92	-1.42	-0.21	0.39	-0.05	-0.87	-0.36	0.28	0.63	-0.29	-0.32
14	0.43	0.46	0.18	-0.11	-0.53	0.05	0.15	-0.20	0.38	-0.14	-0.46	-0.39	0.79	-0.45	-0.16
15	1.16	1.18	-0.21	0.42	-0.10	0.17	-0.86	0.09	0.24	-0.38	-1.30	-0.43	-0.04	-0.28	0.33

Table of VARIMAX rotated components

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
been burgled	/hasn't been burgled	1	0.042	0.426	0.428
outward going	/inward going	2	0.212	-0.589	0.626
sad	/angry	3	0.127	0.861	0.871
wouldn't steal	/would steal	4	0.816	-0.226	0.847
helpful	/unhelpful	5	0.901	-0.258	0.937
accepting	/less accepting	6	0.399	-0.811	0.904
bossy	/less bossy	7	-0.689	-0.390	0.792
sympathetic	/less sympathetic	8	0.852	-0.081	0.856
understanding	/upset	9	0.301	-0.738	0.797
selfish	/unselfish	10	-0.944	0.046	0.946
self conscious	/confident	11	0.248	0.830	0.866
irresponsible	/responsible	12	-0.815	0.376	0.898
quiet	/rowdy	13	0.661	0.069	0.665
more self esteem	/less self esteem	14	0.423	-0.822	0.925
nervous	/less nervous	15	-0.582	0.511	0.774
%VARIANCE			37.102	30.149	67.250

Transformation matrix

	1	2
1	0.815	-0.580
2	0.580	0.815

Rotated factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A current self	1	-0.392	0.259	0.470
B self before	2	-0.253	0.370	0.448
C self after	3	-0.670	-2.072	2.178
D ideal self	4	-0.719	1.324	1.506
E husband	5	-0.950	-0.259	0.985
F son 3	6	-0.114	-1.007	1.013
G son 2	7	-0.128	0.996	1.004
H son 1	8	-0.074	1.542	1.544
I husband's sister	9	0.770	-0.148	0.784
J margo	10	-1.061	0.159	1.073
K margarite	11	-0.797	-0.093	0.802
L mary	12	0.199	0.514	0.551
M maisie	13	0.699	0.318	0.768
N burglar	14	3.142	0.067	3.143
O burglary victims	15	0.348	-1.968	1.999

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b3 Time: 16:51:12
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET **********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglar
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                    NEGATIVE                    POSITIVE
                        1                2                3                4                5
NEGATIVE POLE                                            .                                    POSITIVE POLE
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                              .        !                           COMPONENT 1
                                                         .        !
unhelpful                                                *******                              helpful
irresponsible                                            ++++++++++++++++++++                 responsible
less self esteem        ########################################                              more self esteem
selfish                                                  .        !                           unselfish
                                                         .        !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                              .        !                           COMPONENT 2
                                                         .        !
self conscious                                           *                                    confident
sad                                                      ++++++++++                           angry
less bossy                                               ##############################       bossy
unselfish                                                .        !                           selfish
                                                         .        !
.........................................................................................................................
                                                         0       20       40       60       80      100
                                                                 ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b3 Time: 16:51:12
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT  ******************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

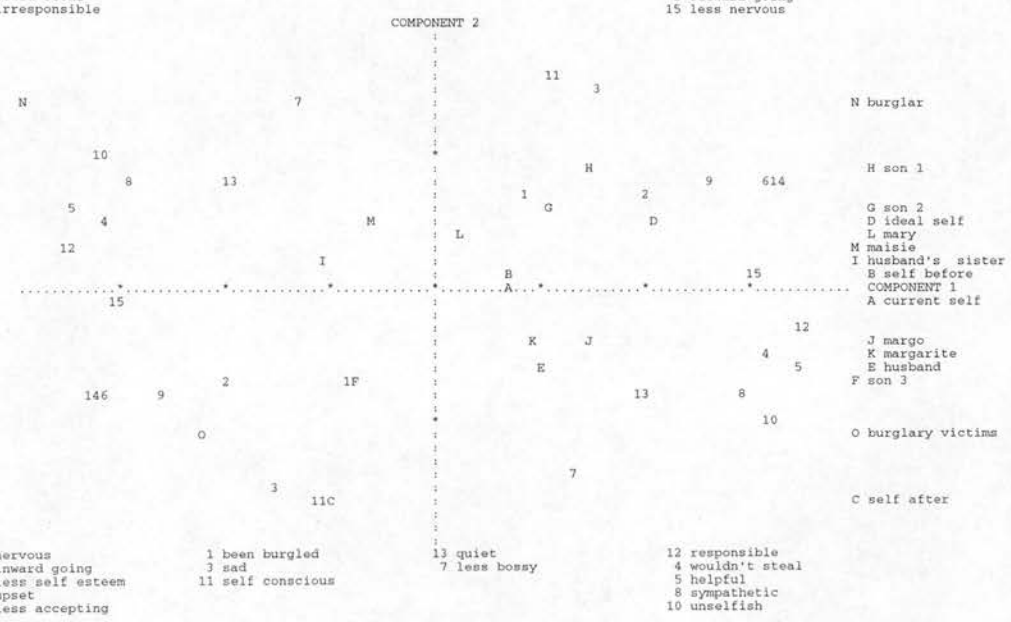
Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 4  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

10 selfish
8 less sympathetic
5 unhelpful
4 would steal
12 irresponsible

7 bossy
13 rowdy

11 confident
3 angry
1 hasn't been burgled

6 accepting
9 understanding
14 more self esteem
2 outward going
15 less nervous



N burglar
H son 1
G son 2
D ideal self
L mary
M maisie
I husband's sister
B self before
COMPONENT 1
A current self
J margo
K margarite
E husband
F son 3
O burglary victims
C self after

15 nervous
2 inward going
14 less self esteem
9 upset
6 less accepting

1 been burgled
3 sad
11 self conscious

13 quiet
7 less bossy

12 responsible
4 wouldn't steal
5 helpful
8 sympathetic
10 unselfish

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b3 Time: 16:51:15
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET  ************************************************************

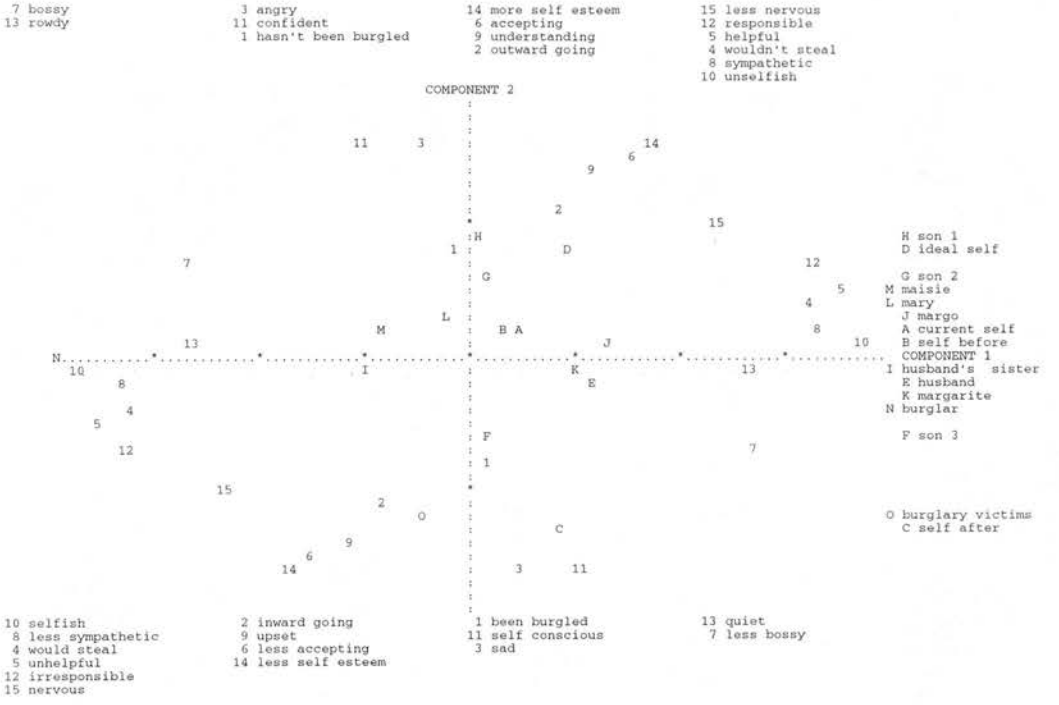
ANALYSIS based on rotated  results

Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglar
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                        1               2               3               4               5
NEGATIVE POLE                                           .                               POSITIVE POLE
                                                        .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                             .       !                       COMPONENT 1
                                                        .       !
selfish                                                 *****
unhelpful                                               *********                       helpful
less sympathetic        ########################################                        sympathetic
would steal                                             .       !                       wouldn't steal
                                                        .       !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                             .       !                       COMPONENT 2
                                                        .       !
sad                                                     ***                             angry
self conscious                                          ++++++++++++++++                confident
less self esteem                                        #                               more self esteem
less accepting                                          .       !                       accepting
                                                        .       !
.........................................................................................................................
                                                        0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                                ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b3 Time: 16:51:15
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT **********

ANALYSIS based on rotated results

Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 4 ideal self picked as an IDEAL



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```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b4 Time: 01-31-1994  17:34:50
Copyright (C) 1987 by Finn Tschudi. University of Oslo. NORWAY
GRID title: burglary
PCA analysis ************************************************************

Data transformation: 1 ):  Correlate CONSTRUCTS (standardize CONSTRUCTS): MOST COMMON
angular construct distances and normed element distances
a) Maximal nr. of components =  2
b) Minimum relative variance of a component (1 recommended by Kaiser) 1
   if b) gives K components then nr. of components will be: M = MIN( 2 ,K)
Maximal nr. of components for VARIMAX  =  2
PLOT and/or TARGET from UNROTATED matrices
PLOT and/or TARGET from ROTATED matrices
printout of tranformed and residual matrices

This table provides you with the minimum, mean, maximum and standard deviation of each variable
*****************************************************************************************
```

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	STD.DEV.	% OF TOTAL VAR.
settled	/going out	1	1	4.37	7	1.98	5.47
working	/not working	2	1	3.79	7	2.26	7.14
outgoing	/quiet	3	1	2.79	7	2.35	7.73
wouldn't burgle	/would burgle	4	1	1.37	7	1.35	2.53
same experience	/inexperience	5	1	3.74	7	2.77	10.70
wants same things in life	/too young	6	1	2.47	7	2.39	7.99
more aware	/not aware	7	1	3.11	7	2.55	9.09
immature	/mature	8	1	5.26	7	2.34	7.62
want to know	/accepting	9	1	5.05	7	2.37	7.86
helpful	/unhelpful	10	1	2.74	7	2.45	8.35
realise bad	/not realise bad	11	1	2.26	7	2.24	7.03
nicer	/selfish	12	1	2.37	7	2.01	5.61
angry	/not angry	13	1	4.47	7	2.41	8.14
bitter	/not bitter	14	1	5.42	7	1.84	4.75
		Total mean		3.52		Mean var.	5.12

Transformed matrix
****

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1	-1.20	-0.69	-1.70	0.32	-0.69	-0.69	0.82	0.32	-0.19	1.33	0.82	0.32	1.33	-1.20	0.32	1.33	-1.70	1.33	-0.19
2	-1.23	-0.35	0.98	0.09	-1.23	1.42	0.09	0.54	1.42	0.98	-0.35	-0.35	1.42	-1.23	-0.79	-1.23	-0.35	-1.23	1.42
3	1.79	0.51	1.79	-0.76	-0.76	-0.34	-0.76	-0.76	0.09	-0.76	-0.76	0.09	-0.76	1.79	-0.76	-0.76	1.79	-0.76	0.09
4	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	0.47	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	4.18	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27	-0.27
5	-0.99	1.18	-0.99	-0.99	-0.99	1.18	1.18	1.18	1.18	-0.27	-0.99	0.46	1.18	-0.99	0.46	1.18	-0.99	-0.99	-0.99
6	-0.62	-0.62	-0.62	-0.20	-0.62	1.89	1.47	1.89	1.89	-0.62	-0.62	-0.62	-0.62	-0.62	-0.62	1.06	-0.62	-0.62	-0.62
7	-0.82	1.53	-0.82	-0.82	-0.82	1.53	1.53	1.53	1.53	-0.82	-0.04	0.74	-0.82	-0.82	-0.04	-0.04	-0.82	-0.82	-0.82
8	0.32	-0.97	0.74	0.74	0.74	-1.82	0.74	-0.54	-1.82	0.32	0.74	0.32	-1.82	0.74	0.74	-1.40	0.74	0.74	0.74
9	-0.02	-1.71	-1.71	0.82	-0.02	-0.44	0.82	0.82	-0.44	0.82	0.82	0.82	0.82	-1.71	-0.44	-1.71	0.82	0.82	0.82
10	-0.71	0.52	-0.71	-0.71	-0.71	1.74	0.52	0.52	1.74	-0.71	-0.71	-0.71	1.74	-0.71	-0.71	1.74	-0.71	-0.71	-0.71
11	-0.56	2.11	-0.56	-0.56	-0.56	2.11	-0.56	0.77	0.77	-0.56	-0.56	-0.56	-0.56	-0.56	-0.56	2.11	-0.56	-0.56	-0.56
12	-0.68	2.31	-0.68	-0.68	0.31	-0.68	0.81	0.81	-0.68	-0.68	-0.68	0.81	2.31	0.81	-0.68	-0.68	-0.68	-0.68	-0.68
13	-1.44	1.05	-1.44	1.05	1.05	1.05	-0.20	-0.20	1.05	-0.20	-0.20	1.05	1.05	-1.44	-1.44	0.63	0.63	-1.02	-1.02
14	0.86	0.86	-2.40	0.86	0.86	0.86	0.86	0.86	0.86	-0.23	-0.23	0.86	0.86	-1.31	-1.31	-0.77	-0.77	-0.77	-0.77

Correlation table, showing the relationships between all the variables
Angular distances between constructs in upper right part
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	1.00	87.0	147.4	69.9	69.3	81.9	85.7	100.4	65.1	75.0	89.9	85.1	80.7	78.3
2	0.05	1.00	97.3	70.3	70.9	69.6	75.0	115.3	77.4	65.9	83.4	88.4	76.7	81.5
3	-0.84	-0.13	1.00	102.0	113.3	107.5	104.0	78.4	115.0	107.0	97.4	92.9	110.7	111.6
4	0.34	0.34	-0.21	1.00	71.2	95.0	97.7	113.5	77.0	64.6	98.9	55.0	76.2	76.4
5	0.35	0.33	-0.40	0.32	1.00	47.3	37.5	141.1	98.6	33.2	48.4	62.4	62.1	63.0
6	0.14	0.35	-0.30	-0.09	0.68	1.00	41.4	125.3	92.9	43.7	53.5	93.3	72.1	67.4
7	0.08	0.26	-0.24	-0.13	0.79	0.75	1.00	121.1	96.0	54.7	50.3	72.5	67.4	59.7
8	-0.18	-0.43	0.20	-0.40	-0.78	-0.58	-0.52	1.00	74.7	159.5	139.1	107.6	124.3	115.4
9	0.42	0.22	-0.42	0.22	-0.15	-0.05	-0.11	0.26	1.00	103.5	121.1	94.7	82.3	67.7
10	0.26	0.41	-0.29	0.43	0.84	0.72	0.58	-0.94	-0.23	1.00	43.8	73.3	58.1	66.6
11	0.00	0.11	-0.13	-0.15	0.66	0.59	0.64	-0.76	-0.52	0.72	1.00	81.8	63.7	75.3
12	0.09	0.03	-0.05	0.57	0.46	-0.06	0.30	-0.30	-0.08	0.29	0.14	1.00	71.2	65.6
13	0.16	0.23	-0.35	0.24	0.47	0.31	0.38	-0.56	0.13	0.53	0.44	0.32	1.00	48.4
14	0.20	0.15	-0.37	0.23	0.45	0.38	0.50	-0.43	0.38	0.40	0.25	0.41	0.66	1.00

Intensity (root mean square) +0.417 Mean absolute value +0.356

Distances between elements (expected value = 1)
****

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
2	1.18																	
3	0.80	1.33																
4	0.78	1.17	1.08															
5	0.69	1.02	1.06	0.40														
6	1.33	0.88	1.43	1.15	1.23													
7	1.07	1.00	1.31	0.80	0.89	0.93												
8	1.12	0.86	1.34	0.89	0.98	0.65	0.40											
9	1.25	0.91	1.36	1.06	1.16	0.27	0.81	0.59										
10	0.86	1.21	0.99	0.43	0.69	1.17	0.79	0.87	1.07									
11	0.73	1.17	0.97	0.37	0.52	1.21	0.76	0.88	1.12	0.34								
12	0.82	0.85	1.15	0.52	0.53	1.06	0.59	0.70	0.96	0.62	0.55							
13	1.55	1.30	1.70	1.29	1.34	1.35	1.13	1.20	1.26	1.23	1.34	1.17						
14	0.58	1.13	0.54	1.01	0.84	1.46	1.19	1.25	1.38	1.00	0.89	0.97	1.61					
15	0.75	1.15	0.81	0.74	0.74	1.25	0.83	0.94	1.17	0.58	0.48	0.75	1.44	0.72				
16	1.26	0.92	1.34	1.11	1.11	0.80	1.01	0.89	0.81	1.07	1.07	1.07	1.37	1.24	0.98			
17	0.55	1.20	0.71	0.68	0.66	1.29	1.09	1.14	1.22	0.80	0.70	0.75	1.51	0.69	0.82	1.28		
18	0.75	1.31	1.00	0.58	0.66	1.38	0.91	1.03	1.29	0.47	0.30	0.75	1.43	0.86	0.45	1.09	0.81	
19	0.70	1.27	0.70	0.58	0.75	1.24	0.93	0.99	1.16	0.41	0.47	0.76	1.38	0.82	0.60	1.23	0.61	0.58

Table of principal components

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
settled	/going out	1	0.348	0.688	0.771	1.000	59.440
working	/not working	2	0.426	0.134	0.446	1.000	19.919
outgoing	/quiet	3	-0.460	-0.627	0.778	1.000	60.487
wouldn't burgle	/would burgle	4	0.347	0.533	0.636	1.000	40.449
same experience	/inexperience	5	0.921	-0.063	0.923	1.000	85.226
wants same things in life	/too young	6	0.740	-0.236	0.776	1.000	60.286
more aware	/not aware	7	0.763	-0.258	0.805	1.000	64.800
immature	/mature	8	-0.882	0.181	0.900	1.000	81.004
want to know	/accepting	9	-0.057	0.831	0.833	1.000	69.428
helpful	/unhelpful	10	0.917	-0.142	0.928	1.000	86.170
realise bad	/not realise bad	11	0.726	-0.544	0.907	1.000	82.296
nicer	/selfish	12	0.417	0.171	0.451	1.000	20.300
angry	/not angry	13	0.670	0.170	0.691	1.000	47.747
bitter	/not bitter	14	0.627	0.329	0.708	1.000	50.101
%VARIANCE			41.250	17.868	59.118		

Factor scores

	VBL.	1	2	DIST-N	*	DIST.	VAR-R	%ACC.
A current self	1	-1.022	-0.589	1.179	*	0.702	0.890	55.376
B self before	2	1.079	-1.309	1.697	*	0.887	1.484	52.990
C self after	3	-1.291	-1.565	2.029	*	1.061	1.553	72.496
D ideal self	4	-0.362	0.980	1.045	*	0.475	0.486	46.426
E husband	5	-0.494	0.458	0.674	*	0.372	0.571	24.194
F daughter	6	1.695	-1.154	2.051	*	1.193	1.664	85.561
G peter	7	0.742	0.771	1.070	*	0.577	0.759	43.957
H bruce	8	1.117	0.074	1.120	*	0.718	0.829	62.240
I ann	9	1.524	-0.831	1.736	*	1.040	1.349	80.145
J mother	10	-0.371	1.069	1.131	*	0.511	0.476	54.806
K father	11	-0.576	0.827	1.008	*	0.509	0.387	66.919
L neighbour	12	0.095	0.656	0.663	*	0.284	0.395	20.419
M burglars	13	1.354	2.144	2.536	*	1.256	2.774	56.875
N burglary victims	14	-1.198	-1.300	1.768	*	0.946	1.215	73.584
O lesley	15	-0.658	-0.019	0.658	*	0.423	0.557	32.049
P arlene	16	1.064	-1.025	1.477	*	0.809	1.448	45.200
Q stepmother	17	-0.997	-0.442	1.091	*	0.667	0.846	52.641
R husband's mother	18	-0.869	0.871	1.231	*	0.669	0.724	61.763
S husband's father	19	-0.832	0.384	0.917	*	0.559	0.595	52.484

Variance of transformed data= 1.000001 Variance of derived data= .5911792
Correlation transformed, derived .7688815

Residual matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1	-0.44	-0.17	-0.18	-0.23	-0.83	-0.49	0.04	-0.12	-0.14	0.72	0.46	-0.17	-0.62	0.11	0.56	1.66	-1.05	1.03	-0.16
2	-0.72	-0.63	1.74	0.12	-1.08	0.85	-0.33	0.05	0.88	0.99	-0.21	-0.48	0.56	-0.55	-0.51	-1.55	0.13	-0.98	1.72
3	0.95	0.19	0.21	-0.31	-0.70	-0.28	0.06	-0.20	0.27	-0.26	-0.51	0.54	1.21	0.42	-1.08	-0.91	1.05	-0.61	-0.05
4	0.39	0.05	1.01	-0.67	-0.35	-0.25	-0.20	-0.70	-0.36	-0.71	-0.51	-0.66	2.57	0.83	-0.04	-0.10	0.31	-0.44	-0.19
5	-0.08	0.10	0.10	-0.59	-0.50	-0.46	0.54	0.15	-0.28	0.14	-0.41	0.41	0.07	0.03	1.06	0.13	-0.10	-0.13	-0.20
6	0.00	-1.72	-0.03	0.30	-0.14	0.37	1.11	1.08	0.57	-0.09	0.01	-0.53	-1.11	-0.04	-0.13	0.03	0.02	0.23	0.09
7	-0.20	0.37	-0.24	-0.30	-0.33	-0.06	1.16	0.69	0.15	-0.27	0.61	0.84	-1.30	-0.25	0.46	-1.12	-0.18	0.06	-0.09
8	-0.48	0.22	-0.11	0.25	0.23	-0.12	1.26	0.43	-0.33	-0.21	0.09	0.28	-1.02	-0.08	0.17	-0.27	-0.06	-0.18	-0.06
9	0.41	-0.56	-0.48	-0.01	-0.43	0.61	0.22	0.82	0.33	-0.09	0.10	0.28	-0.88	-0.70	-0.47	-0.80	1.13	0.05	0.45
10	0.14	-0.66	0.25	-0.24	-0.19	0.02	-0.06	-0.50	0.23	-0.22	-0.06	-0.70	0.80	0.20	-0.11	0.62	0.14	0.21	0.11
11	-0.14	0.62	-0.48	0.23	0.04	0.25	-0.68	0.00	-0.78	0.29	0.30	-0.27	-0.38	-0.40	-0.10	0.78	-0.08	0.54	0.25
12	-0.16	2.08	0.12	-0.70	0.44	-1.19	0.37	0.34	-1.17	-0.71	-0.58	0.66	1.38	1.54	-0.40	-0.95	-0.19	-0.47	-0.40
13	-0.65	0.55	-0.31	1.12	1.30	0.11	-0.82	-0.96	0.17	-0.13	0.05	0.87	-0.23	-0.42	-1.00	0.09	1.38	-0.59	-0.53
14	1.69	0.61	-1.07	0.76	1.02	0.17	0.14	0.13	0.17	-0.35	-0.14	0.58	-0.70	-0.13	-0.89	-1.10	-0.00	-0.51	-0.37

Table of VARIMAX rotated components

POLE	/CONTRAST	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
settled	/going out	1	0.066	0.768	0.771
working	/not working	2	0.345	0.284	0.446
outgoing	/quiet	3	-0.192	-0.754	0.778
wouldn't burgle	/would burgle	4	0.122	0.624	0.636
same experience	/inexperience	5	0.878	0.286	0.923
wants same things in life	/too young	6	0.774	0.058	0.776
more aware	/not aware	7	0.804	0.046	0.805
immature	/mature	8	-0.885	-0.161	0.900
want to know	/accepting	9	-0.364	0.750	0.833
helpful	/unhelpful	10	0.904	0.212	0.928
realise bad	/not realise bad	11	0.877	-0.233	0.907
nicer	/selfish	12	0.322	0.315	0.451
angry	/not angry	13	0.557	0.408	0.691
bitter	/not bitter	14	0.459	0.539	0.708
%VARIANCE			37.980	21.138	59.118

Transformation matrix

	1	2
1	0.927	0.374
2	-0.374	0.927

Rotated factor scores
****

	VBL.	1	2	DIST.
A current self	1	-0.728	-0.928	1.179
B self before	2	1.490	-0.811	1.697
C self after	3	-0.612	-1.935	2.029
D ideal self	4	-0.702	0.773	1.045
E husband	5	-0.629	0.241	0.674
F daughter	6	2.004	-0.437	2.051
G peter	7	0.400	0.993	1.070
H bruce	8	1.008	0.487	1.120
I ann	9	1.724	-0.201	1.736
J mother	10	-0.743	0.852	1.131
K father	11	-0.843	0.551	1.008
L neighbour	12	-0.157	0.644	0.663
M burglars	13	0.454	2.495	2.536
N burglary victims	14	-0.625	-1.654	1.768
O lesley	15	-0.603	-0.264	0.658
P arlene	16	1.370	-0.553	1.477
Q stepmother	17	-0.760	-0.783	1.091
R William's mother	18	-1.132	0.483	1.231
S william's father	19	-0.916	0.045	0.917

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b4 Time: 17:35:32
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET  ************************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglars
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                  Position of ELEMENTS
                                  NEGATIVE                        POSITIVE
                        1                 2                 3                 4                 5
NEGATIVE POLE                                                 .                                   POSITIVE POLE
                                                              .
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                                   .                 !                 COMPONENT 1
                                                              .                 !
inexperience                                                  ********************                same experience
unhelpful                                                     +++++++                             helpful
immature                          ########################                                          mature
not aware                                                     .                 !                 more aware
                                                              .                 !
.........................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                                   .       !                           COMPONENT 2
                                                              .       !
want to know                                  **********      .                                   accepting
settled                                                       ++++++++++++++++++                  going out
quiet                                                         ########################################  outgoing
not realise bad                                               .       !                           realise bad
                                                              .       !
.........................................................................................................................

                                                              0       20      40      60      80      100
                                                                  ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b4 Time: 17:35:32
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT ***********************************************************

ANALYSIS based on unrotated  results

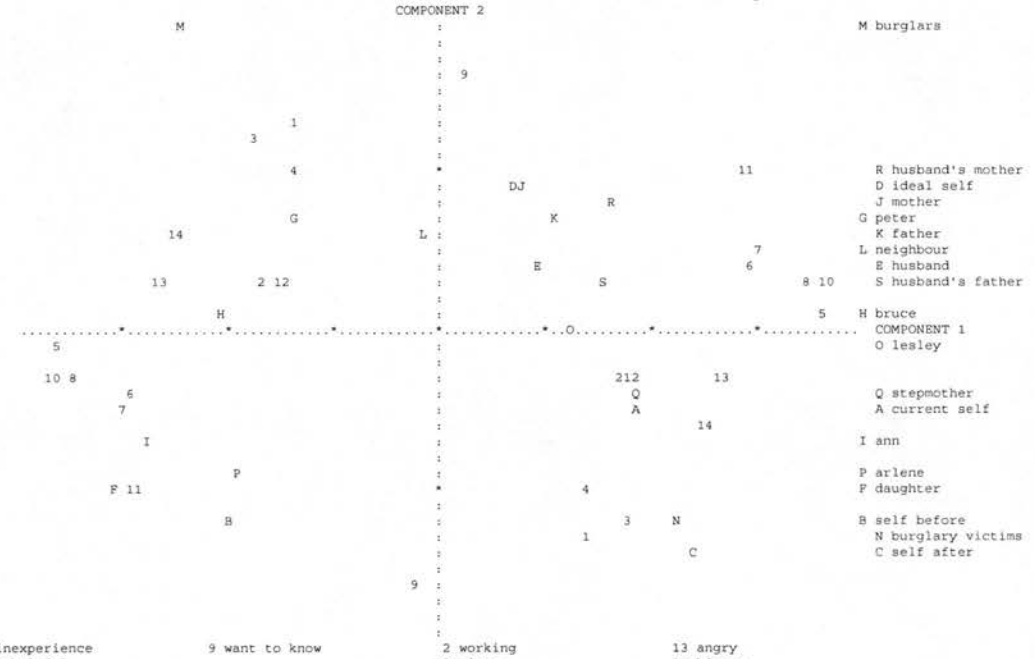
Axis 1 has been reflected
ELEMENT 4  ideal self picked as an IDEAL
```

14 not bitter
13 not angry

1 going out
3 outgoing
4 would burgle
12 selfish
2 not working

9 accepting

11 realise bad
7 more aware
6 wants same things in life
8 mature
10 helpful
5 same experience



5 inexperience
10 unhelpful
8 immature
6 too young
7 not aware
11 not realise bad

9 want to know

2 working
12 nicer
4 wouldn't burgle
3 quiet
1 settled

13 angry
14 bitter

****

```
F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b4 Time: 17:35:36
GRID TITLE: burglary
TARGET ******************************************************

ANALYSIS based on rotated  results


Definition of ELEMENTS: TYPICAL * current self
                        IDEAL   + ideal self
                        WORST   # burglars
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                Position of ELEMENTS
                                  NEGATIVE                          POSITIVE
                      1                 2                 3                 4                 5
NEGATIVE POLE                                             .                                   POSITIVE POLE
                                                          .
...................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 1                                               .         !                         COMPONENT 1
                                                          .         !
unhelpful                                                 ***********                         helpful
immature                                                  ++++++++++                          mature
inexperience                                      #######                                     same experience
not realise bad                                           .         !                         realise bad
                                                          .         !
...................................................................................................................
COMPONENT 2                                               .    !                              COMPONENT 2
                                                          .    !
settled                                 **************    .                                   going out
quiet                                                     ++++++++++                          outgoing
want to know                                              ######################################## accepting
wouldn't burgle                                           .    !                              would burgle
                                                          .    !
...................................................................................................................

                                                          0    20   40   60   80   100
                                                               ! MARKS IMPORTANCE OF COMPONENT
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

F L E X I G R I D v4.0 Feb. 1987. File: b4 Time: 17:35:36
GRID TITLE: burglary
PLOT ••••••

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